

The Historie of Quintus  
Curtius, conteyning the  
Actes of the great  
*Alexander.*

Translated out of Latin into  
English by *Iohn Brende.*



LONDON

Printed by Abell Ieffes, dwelling in  
Paules Church-yard, at the great  
North doore of Paules.

1592.





To the Right Highe and  
mighty prince, Iohn Duke of  
Northumberland, Earle Marshall of  
*England, &c. Iohn Brendewiseth*  
*continuall prosperitie, with*  
*encrease of honour.*



Any haue written, and experi-  
ence besides declareth, howe  
necessarie Historicall know-  
ledge is to all kinde of men, but  
specially to Princes and to o-  
thers which excell in dignitie  
or beare authoritie in any com-  
mon-weale: the same beeing counted the most  
excellent kinde of knowledge, the chiefe st parte  
of ciuill prudence, and the mirrour of mans life.  
There is required in all magistrates both a faith  
and feare in God, and also an outward pollicie  
in worldly thinges, whereof as the one is to bee  
learned by the Scriptures, so the other must  
chiefely be gathered by reading of Histories. For  
in them men may see the grounds and beginnings  
of commonwealths, the causes of their encrease,  
of their prosperous maintenance, and good pre-  
seruation: and againe by what meanes they de-  
creased, decayed, & came to ruine. There the ver-  
tues and vices of men doo appeare, how by theyr  
good dooings they florished, and by their euill

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actes they decayed. How they prospered so long, as they maintained iustice, persecuted vice, vsed clemencie and mercy, were liberall, religious, vertuous, and voyde of couetousnes: And contrariwise how they fell into manifold calamities, miseries, and troubles, when they embraced vice & forsoke vertue. In histories it is apparant, howe daungerous it is to begin alterations in a common welth. How enuie and hatreds oft rising vpon small causes, haue been the destruction of great kingdoms. And the disobeyers of higher powers, and such as rebelled against Magistrates, neuer escaped punishment, nor came to good end. In them there be presidents for all cases that may happen, in following the good, in eschuing the euill, in auoyding inconueniences, & in foreseeing mischiefes. In them may bee learned how to temper in prosperitie, how to endure in aduersitie, & after what manner men should vse themselves bothe in time of peace and warre. As in all artes there bee certaine principles and rules for men to folowe, so in histories there be ensamples painted out of all kinde of vertues, wherein both the dignitie of vertue and foulenes of vice, appeareth much more liuely then in any mortall teaching: there being expressed by way of ensample, all that Philosophie dooth teach by way of precepts. This is such a kinde of knowledge, as maketh men apt euen with small experience either to gouerne in publike matters, or in their owne priuate affaires: For by comparing things past, with thinges present, men may easilie gather what is to bee followed, and what is to be eschued. And hee which can reade them with such iudgement, waying the times with the causes and occasions of things, shall both see most deeply in all matters, best declare his opinion,

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nion, and winne most estimation of prudence and wisdom. For if aged men bee esteemed for the wisest by reason of their experience: Or if HOMER painted forth in the person of VLYXES the Image of a perfit wise man: imputing the cause thereof to the knowledge he had gathered by traueiling many countreys, and by vewing and marking the customes and manners of diuers nations: Then such as be well expert in histories, and by the well applying of them, can take the due fruite pertaining to the same: must needes obtaine profoundnesse of iudgement, with a stable and grounded wisdom. For in them men may behold as it were before their eyes, both the whole worlde, and the gouernment thereof, with the pollicies and lawes, the discipline, customes and manners of all people from the beginning.

This is such a thing, that whosoever is cleerely voide of it, though hee be endued with neuer so great a witte otherwise, with such aptnesse of nature, or other goodly vertues: Yet when he shall haue to doo in weighty affayres, hee shall finde a certaine maim and imperfection, not onely in ciuill gouernement, but also in the matters perteyning to the warre.

For although in an excellent Capitaine nature must giue the chiefe partes, that is to saye, hardinesse, stoutnesse of stomacke, with a naturall wisdom and vnderstanding (by which qualities onely (experience thereunto adioyned) diuers haue become famous Capitaines.) Yet this is a thing that giuerh a greater pollicie, groundeth a deeper iudgement, addeth a further ornament and glorie, and fourmeth a perfectnes and an excellencie in a shorter space.

The shortnesse of a mans life shortened besides

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by so many casualties, is the cause that men be taken away before they can get such an actuall experience as may make them perfect, and commonly become rotten, before they canne attayne to a ripenes in knowledge. But by this kinde of learning in youth a man is become aged, hee hath knowledge without experience, he is wise before it is looked for, he is become a counsaylour the first houre, and a man of warre the first day. The same thing hath beene verified in many, which in young age haue beene prudent counsellors, and in small experience politique Captaines. Alexander hereof is an euident ensample, who brought vp vnder Aristotle in learning, and so giuen to this kinde of study, that he had Homer alwayes layde vnder his beds head (whereby he might bee admonished of the vertues and office of an excellent Prince) entred into his kingdome when hee was but twenty yeeres of age: and neuerthelesse both established his owne estate with such prudence, that within short space (besides the enlarging of his owne boundes) he subdued the greatest part of the world. And albeit he began so yong, and continued so small time: yet no mans actes be comparable to his: being counted the most excellent Captaine from the beginning. But if any man wyll impute the greatnesse of his dooings to the perfect discipline the Macedons vsed in the wars, and to the politique Captaines, and expert soldiers, left to him by his Father Philip: it shall appeare euidently by the decay of realmes when they haue beene gouerned by imprudent princes, and by the ouerthrowes the Romaines receyued when they were conducted by euill Capitaynes, that no prudence of counsellours can take place,  
nor

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nor any discipline or experience of the souldiers can auaille, if the head be not a man of excellent vertue. There is nothing new vnder the Sunne (as the wise man saith) & it is impossible for any thing to chance either in the war or in common pollicy, but that the like may be found to haue chanced in times past. All which things laid vp in memory, as in a place of store: men may alwayes be furnished for al chances that may occur. Seeing histories be then so good and necessarie, it were much requisite for mens instruction, that they were translated into such tounge as most men might vnderstand them: & specially the histories of antiquitie, which both for the greatnes of the acts doone in those dayes, & for the excellency of the writers, haue much maiestie and many ensamples of vertue. I therefore hauing alwayes desired that we Englishmen might be found as forward in that behalfe as other nations, which haue brought all worthy histories into their naturall language, did (a fewe yeeres past) attempt the translation of Quintus Curtius, & lately (vpon an occasion) performed & accomplished the same. Which Author treating of the acts of the great Alexander, being figured in the Prophets, Jeremy & Daniell, & mencioned in the first booke of the Machabies, seem to haue bin borne, and brought forth into the world; not without a most special prouidence & predestination of God: who prospered so his proceedings that (as Iustine writeth) hee neuer encountered with any enemyes whome he ouercame not, hee besieged no Cittie that he wanne not, nor assailed nation that hee subdued not. This so worthy a matter I thought good to dedicate vnto your grace, following theyr ensample that haue trauelled in the like studye, which are woonte to declare  
their

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their good willes, by bestowing of their laboures. Therevnto I was also moued the rather, by considering the qualities of your grace, which seeme to haue certaine affinitie and resemblance with such as were the very vertues in ALEXANDER. For ARIANVS writeth of him, that he was of a seemly stature, bold in his enterprises, stoute of stomake, moderate in pleasures, wise in counsaile, and prouident to foresee thinges, that hee was excellent in conducting of an armie, most politike in ordering his battailes, that hee could encourage his Souldiers with apt wordes, and when need required take parte of their perill. What partes of this be in your grace, let them iudge that haue knowne your actes in the warres, and your excellent seruice doone, both in the time of the kings Maiestie that now is, and also in his fathers dayes of most famous memorie. Although in dooing heereof I haue not peradventure satisfied all mens expectations: yet my trust is, that your Grace will accept the same in good part, and consider that in a translation a man cannot alwayes vse his owne vaine, but shall bee compelled to tread in the Authors steps, which is harder, and a more difficult thing to do, then to walke his owne pace.



## The fyrst Booke of Quintus Curtius, supplied of the Actes of the great Alexander, King of Macedon.



Philip of Macedone, which by subduing of Greece, did first bring his countrie in reputation, was the sonne of Amyntas: a man endued with wisdom, hardinesse, and all other vertues of a noble Capitaine. The same Amyntas had by Euridice his wife, three sonnes: Alexander, Perdicas, & Philip, who was the father of great Alexander: with a daughter also called Euxiones. The Queene Euridice being in amours with one that had marryed her daughter, conspired the death of the king her husband, to the intent to haue married with her sonne in lawe, and to make him king: which thing she had brought to effect, had not the treason and whoredome of the mother, bene opened by the daughter in time. After the death of Amyntas, Alexander the eldest sonne enjoyed his fathers kingdom: which in the beginning of his reigne was

## The first Booke supplied

was so assailed on all sides, that he was driven by force to purchase peace of the Illirians with money, by giving his brother Philip in hostage. And afterwards by the same pledge, made a like peace with the Thebans, being the occasion that Philip did attaine to such excellencie of knowledge and wisdom. For by reason that he was committed to the custodie of Epamynundus, who was a valiant Capitaine and an excellent Philosopher, he was brought up in the trade of honest disciplines, and princely maners, greatly profiting under a Philosopher of Pithagoras schoole, whome Epaminundas kept in his house for the instruction of his sonne. In the meane season Alexander was slaine by the meanes of Euridice his mother, whose former treason king Amintas her husband had pardoned in respect of the children had betweene them, little thinking that shee would afterwards haue bene their destruction. For when Alexander was dead, she caused in like maner her other sonne Perdiccas to be slaine: which Perdiccas left behind him one sonne being a yong babe. About the same time Philip the yongest brother, being by good hap escaped out of prison, returned into Macedon, and not taking vpon him the name of king, remained a great while no otherwise but as Gouvernour or Tutor to his yong

## of Quintus Curtius.

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young new. Neuerthelesse, afterwards by occasion of sundry mischieses growing in the state, the same being such as might not well hang till the yong king should come to his age: for that he appeared to be a man of singular actiuitie, and of no lesse skyll in feates of warre then in knowledge of philosophie, was compelled by the people to take vpon him to be king of Macedon, which as then stood in hard plight, and great danger of ruine. This was doone 400. yeeres after the building of Rome, and the 105 Olympiade. In the beginning of his reigns he was combred with infinite troubles: for all the countreys neare about (as it were by a generall conspiracie) moued warre against him, and at one time sundry nations swarmed together out of sundry partes to ouercome his kingdome. Wherefore considering that it stood him vpon to worke warily (not being able to matche them all at once) pacified some with faire promises, other with money, and the weakest he withstood with force. By that meanes he both made his enemies afraid, and confirmed the hearts of his people, which he found discouraged, and sore amazed. These things he wrought with great sleight and finesse of witte, in such sort that he minished not any part of his honour, estate or reputation, determining neuerthelesse as time should serue,

to

The first booke supplied  
to deale with euery one a parte. His first war  
was with the Atheniens, whome he overcame  
by sleight and pollicie. And where it lay in his  
power to haue put them all to the sworde, he  
set them all at libertie without ransome. By  
which point of clemencie (though it was but  
counterfaite, being doone for feare of a greater  
warre at hand) yet it gat him great good will  
and estimation vniuersally. After that he sub-  
dued the Peons, and from thence turned his  
power against the Illirians, of whom he slew  
many thousands, and wanne the noble Cittie  
of Larissa. That doone he moued warre a-  
gainst the Thessalians, not for any desire of  
their goods, or spoile of their countrey, but of  
a pollicie to adde to his strength the force of  
their Horsemen, which at those dayes were  
counted the chieftest of the world. This his pur-  
pose he brought well to passe: for being soden-  
ly assailed, they were soone brought to subiec-  
tion. So Philip toynded the force of their hor-  
men vnto his footmen, whereby he made his  
power inuincible. After all these things happi-  
ly brought to passe, he toke to wife Olympias,  
one of the daughters of Neoptolemus, king  
of the Molossians. That marriage was con-  
cluded by the meanes of Arisba, who had the  
gouernment of Olympias, by marrying of his  
other sister called Troada. This marriage  
which

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which he thought to haue made for his suertie,  
turned afterwards to his subuersion. For thin-  
king to haue made himselfe strong by the affi-  
nitie of Philip, he was at length by him depri-  
ued of the whole kingdome, and ended his life  
miserably in exyle. Not long after this marri-  
age, King Philip dreamed that he sawe his  
wiues wombe wonderfully swollen, and to his  
seeming a liuely Image of a Lyon thereupon:  
by which dreame the Diuiners & dreame rea-  
ders did enterprete, that his wife was concei-  
ued of a Child, that should be of a Lyons heart  
& courage: which interpretation pleased him  
much. Afterwards at the assault of a cittie cal-  
led Methron, by shotte of an arrow he lost his  
right eie. Wherof, though the displeasure was  
great, yet was he content vpon their submissio  
to take them to mercy. He wane also the Cittie  
of Pagus, and annexed the same vnto his king-  
dome. He inuaded the land of the Triballes,  
& at one instant conquered it, with all the coun-  
tries therabout. Thus hauing made his king-  
dome strong by subduing his neighbours: at  
his retorne home, his Wife Olympias was  
deliuered of his sonne Alexander the 8. daye  
of Aprill. Of these good fortunes the king re-  
ioysed no lesse then reason was, hauing stabli-  
shed his countrey at home, subdued his ene-  
mies abroad, and gotten an heire to succeed in  
his

The first Booke supplied  
his kingdome. He could haue desired no more  
of God, if the minde of man could euer be sa-  
tisfied, which the more it hath the more it co-  
uereth. As dominion encreaseth, so dooth also  
the desire to haue more: which was well seene  
in Phllip, that still did compasse howe to  
growe great by taking from his neighbours,  
and laye alwayes like a spie, awayting time  
and occasion, how to cathe from euery man.  
Wherevnto he had occasion ministred by the  
Citties of Greece: for whiles one did couet to  
subdue another, and through ambition were at  
strife who should be chiefe, by one and one, he  
brought them all at length to subiection, per-  
swading the smaller states to mooue warre a-  
gainst the greater, and to serue his purpose,  
contriued the wayes to set them all together  
by the Eares. But at length when his practi-  
ces were perceiued, diuers Citties fearing his  
encrease, confedered against him, as their com-  
mon enemy, but chiefly the Thebans. Ne-  
uerthelesse in necessitie when they were driuen  
to wage men of war, they chose him to be their  
general Capitain against the Laedemonians,  
and the Phoceans, which had spoiled the Tem-  
ple of Appollo. This war he honorably atchi-  
ued, so that by punishing of their sacrilege, he  
gat himselfe great honor in al those parts. But  
in thend espying either of those countreys to be  
brought

brought low with the warre, he found meanes  
to subdue both the one & the other, compelling  
aswell the ouercomers, as the overcome, to be  
his tributaries and subiects. Then made he a  
voyage into Cappadocce, where killing, and ta-  
king prisoners all the Princes thereabouts, re-  
duced the whole Prouince to the subiection of  
Macedon. He conquered Olynthus, and with-  
in a while put his foote in Thrace. For where  
the two kings of that countrey were at vari-  
ance about the limits of their kingdomes, and  
chose him to be their arbitrer, he gladly tooke  
it vpon him. But at the day appointed for the  
iudgement, he came not thether like a Judge  
with a Counsell, but like a warrior with an ar-  
mie, and to parte the strife, expulled both the  
parties from theyr kingdomes. By this time  
young Alexander was twelue yeares of age,  
and began to take great delight in the feates  
of warre, shewing most manifest signes of a  
noble heart and princely courage. Hee was  
very swift of foote, and one day at a solenne  
game of running called Olympiacum, bee-  
ing demaunded by some of his companions  
if hee would runne a race with them: gladly  
(quod he) if heere were kings sonnes to runne  
withall. Another time when certaine Emba-  
sadors of the Persians came into Macedon,  
Alexander which in his Fathers absence  
tooke

The first booke supplied  
tooke vpon him their entertainment, and deul-  
ling with them of diuers things, in al his com-  
munication there neuer passed from him one  
childish or vaine word, but either enquired the  
state of their countrey, the maners of the peo-  
ple, the distaunce of the wayes, the power of  
their king, or the order of his warres, with such  
other like. So that the Embassadors hauing  
meruaile thereat, esteemed the prooue of the  
father to be much lesse, then the towardnes of  
the son, and that his courage was much more,  
then was to be looked for in one of his yeares.  
As often as tidings came that the king his fa-  
ther had woone any strong or rich Towne, or  
obtained any notable victorie: he neuer seemed  
greatly ioyfull, but would saye to his playfel-  
lowes: my father dooth so many great actes,  
that he will leaue no occasion of anye notable  
thing for vs to doe together. Such were his  
wordes, such was his talke: whereby it was  
easie to coniecture what a man he would after  
prooue in age, which so began in youth. His de-  
light was not set in any kinde of pleasure, or  
gardens of gaine, but in the chely exercise of  
vertue, and desire of hono<sup>r</sup>. The more autho-  
ritie that he receiued of his father, the lesse he  
would seme to beare. And although by the  
great encrease of his fathers dominion, it see-  
med that hee should haue the lesse occasion of  
warres,

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warres, yet he did not set his delight in vaine  
pleasure, or heaping vp of treasure, but sought  
all the meanes he could, to vse martiall feates,  
and exercises of warre: coneting such a king-  
dome, wherein for his vertue and prowesse, he  
might purchase fame and immortalitie. That  
hope neuer deceiued Alexander nor any other  
that hath will or occasion to put the same in  
vye. The charge and gouernance of this young  
prince was committed to sundry excellent ma-  
sters and gouerners, but chiefly to the Philo-  
sopher Aristotle, whose vertue learning and  
knowledge king Philip so much esteemed, that  
he would often say, he tooke no greater com-  
fort in the birth of his sonne, then in that hee  
was prouided of such a maister for him as  
Aristotle, vnder whose tuition he remained  
ten yeares. Many things there chanced be-  
sides, whereby it was coniectured, that Alex-  
ander should prooue a man of great valour.  
For when his father sent to Delphos to re-  
ceiue answer of the Gods who should be his  
successour, the Oracle was giuen: that such  
one should not onely succeed him, but also be  
Lord of the world, whom Bucephalus would  
suffer to sit vpon his back. This Bucephalus  
was a passing faire horse, fierce and ful of cou-  
rage, which Philip had bought of a Thesalieu  
for thirteene Talents, and because of his  
fiercenes

fierceres, kept him within a brake of Iron  
 bars: yet for all that hee remained so fell and  
 wood, that none durst come neere to dress him.  
 Whereof the king was so wearye, that hee  
 sought the means to be rid of the horse. It for-  
 rned that Alexander came one day with his  
 father into the stable. What a horse (qu he) is  
 marred here for lacke of good handling, and  
 with that came neere neare, and without any  
 great difficultie gate vpon his backe, and vsing  
 both the spurre and the rodde to the vitermost,  
 raine and managed him so vp and downe, that  
 the horse abide it very well. And hauing ridden  
 his fill, brought back the horse againe. As he  
 alighted, the king for ioy imbraced and kissed  
 him, and with teares in his eyes said: O sonne,  
 seeke for some other kingdome meete for the  
 greatnes of thy hart: for Macedon cannot suf-  
 fice thee. So that euen then the foreseeing fa-  
 ther, did full well perceiue all his possessions  
 far insufficient for his sonnes heart. After this  
 king Philip determined to make warr against  
 all Greece, for the maintenance whereof hee  
 thought it great aduantage, if he might firste  
 win Byzantium, a famous city on the sea coast  
 Wherefore committing the charge and govern-  
 ment of his realme to his sonne being then xv.  
 yeeres of age, laide siege to the towne which  
 made him great resistance. When he had con-  
 sumed

sumed al his riches and treasure about the sieg  
 he was driuen to so narrowe shift, that to fur-  
 nish himselfe of money, he became a Pyrat, &  
 rowed on the sea, where he tooke 170 ships, the  
 spoile wherof he deuided among his souldiers.  
 And least that his whole army should be detei-  
 ned about the siege of one citie, he sorted out  
 the most cholen bands of all his souldiers, and  
 went into Chersonesus, where he tooke and  
 put to sack many notable townes because his  
 sonne Alexander was then about 18. yeeres  
 olde, and had shewed an euident prooffe of his  
 vertue and manhood in all his attempts: his fa-  
 ther sent for him thither, to the intent he might  
 in his warres learne and exercise all feates be-  
 longing to a souldiour, & with him made a voy-  
 age into Scythia vpon none other quarrell, but  
 to spoile the countrey. Thus vsing the practice  
 of marchants, with the gain of one war, he bare  
 out þ charges of an other. After he had brought  
 the countrey in subiection, because no riches of  
 gold nor silver was to be got there, he brought  
 from thence xx. M. of men, women, & children,  
 besides a great multitude of catel, with xx. M.  
 chole mares to make a race in Macedon. In his  
 returne he was encountred with the Tribals,  
 which denied him passage, except they might  
 haue part of his booty. Whereupon debating of  
 the matter, from words they fell to fighting,

The first Booke supplied  
whereat king Philip was so wounded in his  
thigh, that the violence of the first stroke ranne  
through the body of his horse, whereof all men  
judging him to be slaine, the booty was there-  
by lost. As soone as he was recovered of this  
hurt, his dissembled grudge against the Athe-  
nians, brast out so farre forth, that he made  
open warre vpon them. By reason whereof  
the Thebans seeing the fyre so neare at hand,  
gaue succor to theyr neighbours, fearing least  
if the Athenians were overcome, the end of the  
warres should turne vpon them. Wherefore  
the cities that a little before were mortall ene-  
mies one to another, confedered together in  
one league, & sent their Embassadours through  
all Greece, perswading it to be most meet with  
a common aid, to withstand a common enemy.  
Some considering the perill to be vniuersall,  
stucke to the Athenians: and some fearing  
Philip's power encreasing, and the others de-  
creasing, tooke part with him. In this warre  
Alexander had the charge of one of the bat-  
talls committed to him, wherein his noble heart  
and courage did well appeare, specially when  
it came to the stroke of the fight, for there hee  
acquitted himselfe so valiantly, that he seemed  
not inferior to his father, nor to any man else,  
but by most iust desert got the honour of the  
victorye, yet he was defrauded thereof by the  
enuy

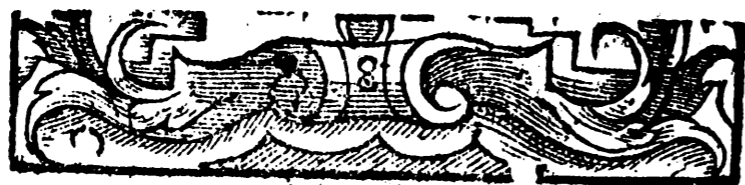
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enuy and slight of his father, as hee himselfe  
complained afterwards. This battaile was  
fought at Cherony, wherein though the Athe-  
nians were the greater number, yet were they  
ouercome by the Macedons being the fewer,  
but yet expert Souldiours by reason of their  
long and continuall practise in warres: neuer-  
theless the Athenians as men not vnmindfull  
of theyr former honour, spent their liues vali-  
antly. That day made an end of all the Greci-  
ans glory, as well of their large rule & govern-  
ment, as of their most auncient freedome and  
libertie, which beeing hardly woone, and long  
time kept, was thus lost in a moment. For  
these things and many other experiments of  
the valour and prowesse in young Alexander  
although the king his Father did alwayes  
beare him singuler affection and fauour: yet  
neuertheless by certaine occasions ensuing,  
it was unhappylly broken. For Philip  
beeing married to Olimpias, mother of A-  
lexander (as is said before) tooke to wife  
besides her, one Cleopatra, whereupon fell  
great discord and unkindnes betweene the fa-  
ther and the sonne. The occasion was giuen  
by one Attalus, vncle to Cleopatra, who be-  
ing at the new marriage, exhorted the multi-  
tude to make prayers to the gods to send be-  
twene the king and the new Queen a lawfull

The first booke supplied  
heire to succeed in the kingdome of Macedon.  
Whereat Alexander being moued. Thou  
naughty villaine (quoth he) dost thou count me a  
bastard: and with that worde slang the cup at  
his head. The king hearing this, rose vp, and  
with his sworde drawne ran at his sonne, who  
by swaruing with his body, auoyded the stroke  
so that it did no harme. Whereupon Alexander  
with many stout & dispitfull words, departed  
from his father, and went with his mother into  
Epirus. Neuer theles soone after, by the mean  
of one Demoxatus a Corinthian, who perswa-  
ded the king that this discord was nothing for  
his honour, Alexander was sente for againe  
and much labour and great meanes was made  
before they could be well reconciled: wherfore  
to confirme this attonement, there was a ma-  
riage made betweene Alexander the brother  
of Olympiades (whom Philip by the expulsi-  
on of Arisba had made king of Epirus) and  
Cleopatra the new Queenes daughter. The  
trumphe of the day was notable according to  
the state & magnificence of such two Princes,  
the one bestowing his daughter & thother ma-  
rying a wife. There were set forth sundry no-  
table plaies, & deuises pleasant to behold. And  
as king Philip (between the two Alexanders  
the one his naturall sonne, and the other his son  
in lawe) was passing through the ppease with-  
out

of Quintus Curtius. 8  
out any garde: one Pausanias a yooing man  
of the nobilitie of Macedon, when no man sus-  
pected any such thing, sodainly slew him starke  
dead, making the day which was appointed to  
ioye and triumphe, lamentable and dolorous  
by the death of such a Prince. This Pausani-  
as being a boye, one Attalus inforced to the  
vnlawfull vse of his body, which not content to  
doo so himselfe, at an other open banquet, cau-  
sed diuers of his familiars to abuse him like-  
wise: which shame & villany greued the yong  
man so sore, that hee complained to the king,  
whome although the dishonesty of the matter  
moued much, yet for the loue he bare to At-  
talus, and for the respect of his seruice, forbore  
to vse any reformatiō in the matter. This At-  
talus was very neere vnto the king, and in spe-  
cial fauour, by reason he was kinsman vnto the  
Queene Cleopatra whome Philip had last  
married: Hee was also elected generall capti-  
taine of the kings armie, prepared to passe into  
Asia, as one that was both valiant of his per-  
son, & no lesse politike in the feats of war. Upon  
these respects the king indured by al the means  
he could, to pacifie Pausanias (being kindled  
with most iust cause of grieffe) aswell by ge-  
uing him great gifts and promotions, as pla-  
cing him honourably amongst those gentle-  
men that were for the garde of his person.

The first booke supplied  
 Bat all this could not appease the iust rage of  
 his yre, which wrought so in him, that he deter-  
 mined to be reuenged, not onely vpon Atta-  
 lus that did the villany, but also vpon the king  
 that would not minister Justice. Which deter-  
 mination hee put in effect, as is said before.  
 Many things might be sayd more of the doo-  
 ings and sayings of this Philip, but one thing  
 aboue all others is to be noted, that although  
 for the more parte hee was occuppyed in the  
 turmoile of the warres and other like busines:  
 yet had he euer such affection to the studies of  
 humanitie and good learning, that he both did,  
 and spake many things worthy of memory,  
 which were both wittye and pleasant. He ly-  
 ued seauen and fortie peeres, and he reig-  
 ned xxv. peeres, being the xxiii. king  
 of the Macedons, that reig-  
 ned in order.

(. .)



## The second Booke of Quintus Curtius supplied.



When Philip was dead: his  
 sonne which for the greatnes  
 of his acts, was afterwards  
 called the great Alexander,  
 tooke vpon him the kingdom  
 the 426. yeere after the buil-  
 ding of Rome, being of the age of 20. yeares.  
 His state stood at that time subiect to much  
 enuy, hatred and hazard from all parts. For  
 the nations and prouinces bordering vpon him  
 could nat wel beare their present bondage, and  
 euery one of them sought home to recouer a-  
 gaine their auncient dominion & inheritance.  
 The first thing hee attempted after hee was  
 king, was the greuous execution vpon so ma-  
 ny as had conspired his fathers death: which  
 doone he celebrated his funerals with great  
 pompe. Concerning his estate he, soone esta-  
 blished it, and that much better then any man  
 could haue imagined, in one of so yong and  
 tender peeres. For beeing of some had in con-  
 tempt

The second booke supplied  
tempt, and of some other suspected to be cru-  
ell: towards the one he bare himselfe so stout-  
ly, that hee tooke from them all contempt:  
and to the other so gentilly, that their imagi-  
ned feare of his cruell disposition was cleane  
taken away. He graunted vnto the Macedons  
freedome, and priuiledge, from all exactions  
and bondage, saving from the seruice of war:  
by which act he gat so great fauour and loue  
amongst his people, that all affirmed by one  
consent, howe the person of their king was  
changed and not his vertue, his name was  
altered, but not his good gouernement. In the  
beginning of his raygne, rebellion was made  
against him on all sides, but he by and by with  
an incredible stoutnes and constancy of minde  
stayed all their tumults. That matter paci-  
fied and set in order, he wente to Corinth in  
Peloponese, where calling a generall Coun-  
sell of all the states of Greece, was elected  
their generall Capitaine against the Persians  
which before time had afflicted Greece with  
many plagues, & at that present possessed the  
greatest Empire in the world. His father had  
purposed the war before, but the preuention of  
death was the cause hee brought not his pur-  
pose to passe: whiles he was in preparation of  
this enterpryse, he was enformed how the A-  
thenians, the Thebans, and Lacedemonians,  
were

were reuolted from him, and confederate with  
the Persians, & all by means of an Oratour  
called Demosthenes, which was corrupted  
by them with a great sum of money. For the  
reformation whereof, Alexander so suddenly  
had prepared an army, that when he came vpon  
them, they could scarcely beleue he should  
be present, of whose comming they had not  
heard before. In his way he practised with the  
Thebians, & vied to them such gentle words  
and apt perswasions, by putting them in re-  
membrance of his fathers benefits, & of the an-  
cient kindred betweene them by their discent  
from Hercules: that he brought them to that  
pointe, by an vniuersall decree of the whole  
countrey to be created theyr gouernour. So  
great was the celeritie that this yong man v-  
sed, and his diligence so effectuell in all doings  
that hee made all such feare him, as before  
were reuolted, and regarded him little. As the  
Athenians were the first that failed, so they  
first of all repented, extolling with praises  
Alexander's childehood, which before they  
had despyed, about the vertue of the aunci-  
ent Conquerours. They also sent Embassa-  
dours to require of him peace, whom he sore  
rebuked when they came to his presence, but  
yet was content at length to remitte theyr  
offence. And although Demosthenes was  
chose

The first booke supplied  
chosen one of the Embassadors, yet he came  
not in his sight, but in his waye returned a-  
gaine to Athens. Which his dooing, was ei-  
ther for feare that he had so oft railed against  
Philip, and stirred the Athenians against him:  
or els to take away the suspicion of himselve  
from the king of Persie, of whom (it was said)  
he had receyued a great sum of golde to stand  
against the Macedons. The same thing was  
laide against him by Aeschines in an Orati-  
on, where he saith: presently the kings golde  
dooth beare his charges, but that cannot last  
him long, seeing no riches can suffice his pro-  
digall luying. When Alexander had pacified  
those sturres that were begun in Greece, be-  
fore hee would passe his army into Asia, he  
made a iourney against the Ipeons, the Tri-  
balles, and Thilirians, because he understood  
they were conspyring together. And for that  
they bordered vpon his countrey, and were  
woonte to invade the same vpon euery occasi-  
on, thought to set stay amongst them, before he  
would remooue his power so farre of, from the  
Cittie of Amphipolis therefore he set forward  
against the Thracians, which at that time  
were not vnder the rule or law of any man. In  
ten dayes he came to the Mount Hemus: in  
the toppe whereof he found them encamped,  
with a power to resist his passage. In steede of  
trenches,

of Quintus Curtius. 11  
trenches, they had empaled themselves with  
their cariages crosse the streights, purposing  
there to withstand him. And if they should be  
invaded by any other way then by the straights  
they did determine to roulz their carriages  
downe the hill vpon the Macedons, to breake  
their array. That deuice was put in executi-  
on, but the souldiours had receiued before in-  
structions by Alexander, as occasion should  
serue, either to open theyr array to let the carts  
and wheeles passe through them, or els to fall  
flat vpon the ground, and by couering their  
bodies with theyr Targets, to auoyde the  
danger. They vsed the matter according to  
their instructions, and when the carts were  
passed by, they with a courage and crye moun-  
ted vp against their enemies, and in a moment  
put them to flight. When Alexander was  
passed the mountaine, he entred into the coun-  
trei of the Tribals as farre as the riuer of Li-  
geus. When Syrmus king of that land under-  
stood of his comming, he sent his wife and his  
children with such of his people, as were not  
meete for the wars, into an Island called Pen-  
ca, situate within the riuer of Danube, into  
which Island, the Thracians bordering with  
the Tribales were fled also. It was not long  
after that Syrmus himselve fled thither in like  
manner. The rest of the Triballes that were

The second Booke supplied  
not with the King withdrawing themselves  
into an other Ilande, where they kept them-  
selves against Alexander. But he by policy  
found the meanes to drawe them out of theyr  
strength, whereby he slew of them the number  
of thre thousand, and the rest fled away, so  
that of prisoners were few taken.

After this battaile he marched towards the  
Riuer of Danubye, to the Ilande whether the  
Thracians and the other Triballes were fled.  
They made notable resistance against him,  
which they might the better do, by reason that  
Alexander wanted boates to passe into the  
Iland, the bankes whereof were so highe and  
steep, that they could not be mounted vpon,  
but with great difficultie, the riuer besides  
running so swifte, by reason that the streame  
was there driuen into a straight. When Alex-  
ander perceiued the impossibilitie to assault  
them, hee withdrew to an other place, where  
getting a few boates, passed the Riuer in the  
night, to the number of one thousand five hun-  
dred horsemen, and foure thousand footmen.

With that company he set vpon a people  
called Getes, that stood ready in order of bat-  
taile, on the further side of the Riuer with  
foure thousand horsemen, and tenne thousand  
foote men, of purpose to stoppe the Macedons  
passage. But by theyr sudden coming ouer,  
the

the Getes were so afraide, that they did not a-  
bide the first onset.

It seemed to them a matter of wonder-  
full aduenture for Alexander, in one night  
without a bridge to passe his power ouer the  
broadest and deepest Riuer in all Europe.

This matter strooke such a feare and terrour  
in theyr hartes, that they fled into the woods,  
mountaines, & desert places, leauing theyr ci-  
tie desolate, which was taken by Alexander.

Syrmus King of the Triballes with the  
Germanes, and the other inhabitours vpon  
the Riuer of Danubye, sent theyr Embassa-  
dours thither vnto Alexander, to enter  
with him into friendshippe and amitye.  
And hee condescending and agreeing to theyr  
requestes, enquired of the Germanes what  
thing it was in the worlde they doubted  
moste, thinking in deede that the terrour  
of hys name had beene the moste fearefullest  
thing vnto them. But when they under-  
stoode hys meaning, they answered: that  
they doubted greatly the falling of the Skye.  
With whose presumptuous answer Alex-  
ander was nothing moued, nor further re-  
plied, sauing onely that hee sayde: the Ger-  
manes were a proude people, and therev-  
pon dismissed them. As hee was going from  
thence against the Agrians and the Pans,  
he

The second Booke supplied  
he was aduertised that Clitus Bardelius had  
rebelled, and was confederate with Glaucius  
the king of the Thaulautes, he had also intel-  
ligence, that the people of Anteria would giue  
him battaile in his passage. Wherefore he com-  
mitted to Lagarus king of the Agrians (which  
was welbeloued of king Philip and no lesse in  
his fauour) the charge to go against the Ante-  
rians, and promised him vpon his returne to  
giue him his sister Cyna in marriage. And  
Alexander himselfe with great celerity, went  
against Clitus and Glaucias, whom in sundry  
battailes he ouercame & put to flight. Whiles  
Alexander was about these things, he recei-  
ued aduertisement, that diuers Citties in  
Greece, and specially the Thebans, had rebel-  
led, which thing moued him much and was  
the cause that he returned with speede to op-  
presse that commotion. The Thebans in the  
meane season besieged the Castle of Thebes,  
wherein was a guarison of Macedons, and  
went about by all meanes to wiune it. Alex-  
ander came by great iourneys to their res-  
cue, and encamped with his hoste neere to the  
city. Such as bare rule amongst the Thebans  
when they saw him come, contrary to that they  
looked for, and doubting whether such ayde  
should come to them for other citties as was  
promised, began to consult how to procede.

At

of Quintus Curtius.

13

At length by a generall consent, they determi-  
ned to abide the aduenture and extremity of  
the warre. The King in the mean season stood  
at a stay, geuing them space to be better adui-  
sed and change their purpose, for he was of o-  
pinion, that no one citie would euer haue made  
resistance against so great a power as hee had,  
being aboue xxx. thousand footmen, and three  
thousand horsemen, all old souldiours, and ex-  
pert in the trauailes of war. The trust of their  
manhod and valiantnes had caused him to vn-  
dertake the warre against the Persians. Tru-  
ly if the Thebans had geuen place to Fortune,  
and to the time, & would haue required peace,  
they might easily haue obtained it: his desire  
was so great to passe into Asia against the Per-  
sians. But the Thebanes that were determi-  
ned to try their force, and not to make any sute,  
fought against the Macedons, farre exceeding  
them in number, obstinatie, and with great  
manhoode: But whilest the battailes were  
ioyning, the guarison of the Castle issued out  
vpon the Thebanes backs, whereby being  
enclosed, they were vanquished, their Citie ta-  
ken, spoyled, and vtterly rased. Which extre-  
mity Alexander vled of purposc, because he  
thought the rest of the Grecians (being afraid  
by their example) would bee the more quiet,  
while he should be in the warres of Asia. To

C

gra-

The second booke supplied gratify the Phocians and Plateans his confederates, which brought many accusations against the Thebans, he slew of them six thousand, and sold thirtie thousand as slaves: the money thereof coming, amounteth to the summe of foure hundred and forty Talentes: Yet he spared all the linnage of *Pindarus* the Poete, whereby hee would witnes vnto the world, the fauour hee did beare vnto learned men. In this Citie of Thebes was a notable woman called *Timoclea*, whom when a Captaine of Thrace did rauishe, and would haue enforced her to confesse her Honey: Shee brought him to a Well, where (shee sayde) all her precious geare was hidden. And whilst he stooped downe to looke into the Well, shee thrust him in, and threwe Stones after, whereby hee was slaine. For this fact shee being committed to Prison, and afterwards brought before *Alexander*: hee asked her what shee was, shee answered without feare, that shee was sister to *Theogenes*, which being elected generall Captaine against King *Philip* his Father, manfully dyed for the libertie of Greece. At whose stoutnes and constancy the King marvelled so much, that hee caused her with her childe to be set at libertie. The Athenians had so great pittie and compassion of the estate of the Thebanes, that contrary

of *Quintus Curtius*.

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to the commaundement of *Alexander*, they receaued into their Citie such of them as escaped: which thing *Alexander* tooke in such displeasure, that when they sent Embassadors the second time to demand peace, hee would not grant attonement vpon any other condition, but that such Oratours & Captains which had stirred them to rebellion, should bee deliuered vnto his handes. But at length the matter was brought vnto that point that the Oratours were reserued, and the Captaines banished, which straighte fledde to *Darius* King of Perse. At such time as *Alexander* assembled the Grecians in *Isthmos* for the determination of his iourney into Perse, many Oratours and Philosophers came to visite him, onely *Diogenes* that remained aboute Corinth, kept himselfe away, as one that esteemed *Alexander* nothing at all, whereat hee marvelled much, and went to visite him where he was beaking of himselfe in the Sun. Hee asked *Diogenes* if hee had neede of any thing hee might doo. To whom *Diogenes* neither gaue reuerence nor thanks, but willed him to stand out of his Sunne-shine. In whose behaviour and wordes *Alexander* tooke so great delight, that turning to those that were with him, said: if he were not *Alexander*, he should wish to bee *Diogenes*. When hee had put in

The second booke supplied  
order the affaires of Greece, committing the  
rule thereof together with the realme of Ma-  
cedon, to the gouernment of *Antipater*, whom  
he most trusted, in the beginning of the spring  
came to Helespont with his whole Armie,  
which he transported into Asia, with incredible  
speed and diligence. When they were come to  
the further shore, *Alexander* threw a dart to  
the enemies land, and as he was armed, lea-  
ped out of the Ships with great gladnes, and  
there sacrificed, making petition vnto the gods  
that they would vouchsafe to admit him King  
of that land. From thence he marched towards  
his enemies, and forbade his souldiers to make  
any spoile vpon the countrey, perswading them  
to spare that was their owne, and that they  
should not destroy the thing which they came  
to possesse. He had not in this armie aboue the  
number of 32. thousand footmen, and 5. thou-  
sand horsemen, and but clxxx. shippes: where-  
fore it is hard to iudge whether it bee more  
wonderfull that he conquered the world, or that  
hee durst attempt the conquest thereof with so  
small a power. He chose not out to such a dan-  
gerous enterprise, the yong men which were  
in the first flower of their age, but the old soul-  
diers, of whom the most part for their long co-  
nuance in warres, were by the custome at li-  
berty and free from the warres, sauing at their  
owne

of *Quintus Curtius*.

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owne pleasure. And there was no Captaine  
nor any other that bare office in his armie, vn-  
der the age of lx. yeares. So that the souldiers  
for their experience seemed to bee scholemai-  
sters of the warres, and the Captains for their  
grauity appeared to be Senators in some an-  
cient common wealth: that was the cause that  
in the fight none of them minded any flying,  
but euery one conceiued the victorie in his head,  
nor any put his trust in his feete, but in his  
hands. *Alexander* that euery where made sa-  
crifice, did vse most solemnity at Troy vpon *A-*  
*chilles* Tombe, of whom he was descended by  
his mothers side: He iudged him most happie  
of all men before him, because in such glory he  
died yong, and had his actes set forth of such a  
one as *Homer* was. From thence hee passed  
forwards into the dominions of *Darius* King  
of Persie, which beeing the Sonne of *Arfarnus*  
and the fourteenth King after *Cyrus*, had got-  
ten the possession of the Monarchie, of the  
whole East part of the world. The chiefest  
cause that moued *Alexander* to inuade him,  
was to be reuenged of the dammages and de-  
structions, wherewith his predecessors had af-  
flicted the countrey of Greece, and also for de-  
maunding tribute of *Philip* his father, for the  
which he sent a proud and presumptuous Em-  
bassade, calling himselfe the King of Kinges,

The second booke supplied  
and kinsman of the gods. Lastly he had written  
to *Alexander*, and called him his seruant, and  
gaue commission to his Lieutenants, that they  
should beat that mad boy (the Sonne of *Philip*)  
with rodde, and afterwards bring him to his  
presence in Kings apparel. And further moze  
they should rowne both ship and mariners,  
to may all the Souldiers that should be left a-  
liue beyond the red Seas. They therfore pur-  
posing to execute the kings commaundement  
assembled their power at the riuer of *Granike*,  
which doth deuide y<sup>e</sup> countrey of *Troy* frō *Pro-*  
*pontides*, hauing to y<sup>e</sup> number of xx. *B.* footmē,  
and as many horsemen, with whom they had  
taken the ground on the further side of the ri-  
uer, where *Alexander* must needes passe ouer.  
Whereof when he was aduertised, though he  
saw present perill in the enterprise to fight in y<sup>e</sup>  
water, and the ouze, from the lower ground a-  
gainst his enemies, which had the aduantage of  
the higher banke, yet vpon a singuler trust of  
his owne good Fortune, and the valiantnes of  
his souldiers, attempted the matter. At the  
first hee was sore encountred, and put in great  
hazard of repulse, but at length he vāquished  
and ouerthrew his enemies. In dooing wher-  
of, there neither wanted pollicy in himselfe, nor  
yet singuler manhood in his men. There was  
slaine in that battell of Persians twenty thou-  
sand

of *Quintus Curtius*.  
sand footmen, with two hundred & fifty horse-  
men, & of the Macedons but xxxiii. This vic-  
tory was greatly effectual to *Alexanders* pur-  
pose, for thereby he wan the citie of *Sard*, be-  
ing the chiefe strength the Persians had for  
the mastering of the seas, vnto the which Citie  
and to all the rest of the Countrey of *Lydia* hee  
gaue libertie to liue vnder their owne law. Hee  
got also vnder his possession the citie of *Ephe-*  
*los*, by reason that the fourth day after y<sup>e</sup> bat-  
tel it was abandoned of y<sup>e</sup> guarison which *Da-*  
*rius* set there. In y<sup>e</sup> mean seasō ther came Em-  
bassadors from *Magnesia* & from the *Trialli-*  
ans proffering y<sup>e</sup> deliuey of their cities. *Par-*  
*mennio* was sent to them with 3000. footmē,  
and 200. horsemen, with which power hee wan  
*Miletum* that stood at defence, and marching  
from thēce towards *Helicarnassus*, got all the  
Townes thereaboutes at the first approch,  
& afterwards besieged *Helicarnassus* it selfe,  
which with great trauell hee wanne at length,  
and rased it to the ground. As *Alexander* en-  
tered into *Caria*, *Ada* the Queene of that coun-  
trei which had beene spoyled of all her Domi-  
nion by *Orontobates Darius* lieutenant (sauing  
of one strong citie called *Alinda*) met with *A-*  
*lexander*, and adopted him for her Sonne and  
heire: Hee would not refuse the name and the  
proffer of her liberality, but did betake to her

The second booke supplied  
gaaine the custodie of her owne Citie. And be-  
sides for the memory of her beneuolente put  
the whole Countrey of Caria vnder her rule &  
subiection. From thence hee went into Licia  
and Pamphilia, to the entent that by getting  
the possession of the Sea coasts of those coun-  
tries he might cause the sea power of *Darius*  
to stand to none effect. When he had once sub-  
dued y<sup>e</sup> people of Pisidia, he entred into Phri-  
gia, by the which countrey hee was enforced to  
passe, & marched towards *Darius*, with whom  
he had great desire to encounter, hearing say  
that he was coming against him with  
many thousands of men  
of warre.



## The third Booke of Quintus

*Curtius, of the actes of Alexander  
the great. King of Ma-  
cedon.*



*A*lexander in the meane  
season hauing sent Cle-  
ander to wage menne of  
warre out of Pelopone-  
se, & established the coun-  
tries of Licia, and Pa-  
philia, remoued his army  
to the Citie of Celenas. Through this Citie  
there ran at the same time the Riuer of Mar-  
tia, very famous in the Greeke poesies: whose  
head springing out of the top of an high moun-  
taine, and falling down vpon a rocke beneach,  
made much noise and roaring. It floweth from  
thence, and watrech the fields all about, with-  
out increase of any Streame sauing his owne.  
The colour whereof being like vnto the calme  
Sea, gaue occasion to the poets to faine how  
the Nymphes for the delight they tooke in that  
riuer chose their dwelling vnder that rock. So  
long

The third Booke supplied  
long as it runneth within compas of the walles  
it kepeth his own name, but when it commeth  
without where the streame is more swift and  
vehement, it is then called *Lycum*: *Alexander*  
did enter into this towne, beeing forsaken of  
inhabitants and perceiuing they were fled into  
the castle which hee determined to win before  
he departed, first sent to summon the by an He-  
rauld which declared that excepte they would  
peeld themselves, they should suffer the extre-  
mity of the lawe of armes. They brought the  
Herauld into an high tower which was strong  
both by nature and workmanship, willing him  
to consider the thing, & to declare vnto *Alex-  
ander* that he wanted not sufficiently strength  
of the place, for they said they did know it to be  
impregnable: and if the worst should fall, yet  
were they readie to die in their truth and alle-  
giance. Notwithstanding which words, when  
it came to the point, that they saw themselves  
besieged, & all things were scarce, they tooke  
truce for lx. daies with this composition, that  
if they were not rescued by *Darius* within that  
time, they would render it vp into his handes:  
which they did afterwards at the day appoin-  
ted, when they saw no succours comming. To  
that place there came Embassadors to him  
from *Athens*, making request that such of their  
Citie as were taken prisoners at the battaile,  
fought

of *Quintus Curtius*. 18  
fought vpon the riuer of *Granike*, might be re-  
stored to them. To whom answer was made,  
that when wars of *Perse* were once brought  
to end, both theirs & all other that were *Greeks*,  
should be restored to their libertie. *Alexander*  
had his present care and imagination alwaies  
vpon *Darius*, whom he knew not yet to be pas-  
sed the riuer of *Euphrates*. He assembled ther-  
fore all his power together, purposing to ad-  
venture the hazard of the battaile. The coun-  
trei was called *Phrygia* that hee passed through  
plentifull of villages, but scarce of Cities, yet  
there was one of great antiquity called *Goz-  
dium*, the royall seat sometime of King *My-  
das*. The riuer *Sangarius* doth run through,  
it, and it standeth in midway between the seas  
of *Ponte* & *Cilicia*: being iudged to be the na-  
rowest part of *Asia*, by reason of the seas which  
ly on both sides, representing the fourme of an  
Iland. And if it were not for a smal point land  
that doth lie betwixt those seas, they should ioyne  
both together. *Alexander* hauing brought  
this city vnder his obeisance, entred into the temple  
of *Jupiter* wher he saw the wagon wherin *Mi-  
das* the builder of the city was wont to ride. The  
same in the furniture & outward appearance dif-  
fered little from other common Wagons, but  
there was in it a thing notable, which was a  
rope folded and knit with many knots, one so  
wretched

The third Booke supplied  
wrethed within another, that no mā could per-  
ceine the manner of it, neither where the knots  
began, nor where they ended. Hereupon the  
countrey men had a prophesy, that hee should  
be Lord of all Asia, that could vndoo the endles  
knot. That was a matter which put the King  
in marvellous desire to become the fulfiller of  
the prophesy. There stood a great number a-  
bout him both of Phrygians & Macedons, the  
one part of them musing to what conclusiō this  
matter would come too, and the other fearing  
the rash presumption of their king, for as much  
as they could perceiue by no reaso how ſ he knot  
should be vndon. The king himselfe also doub-  
ting that the failing of his purpose in that mat-  
ter might be taken as a token of his euill For-  
tune to come: After he had considered the thing:  
What matter maketh it (qd. hee) which way  
it be vndone, and stryued no longer how to vn-  
knit it, but out of hand cut with his sword the  
cordes a sunder, thereby either illuding, or else  
fulfilling the effect of the prophesie. When this  
was done *Alexander* purposed to find out *Da-*  
*rius* wheresoever he were, to ſ intent he would  
leauē all things cleare behind his backe, made  
*Amphitorus* captaine of his nauy vpon the coast  
of Hellesponte, committing the charge of the  
men of warre to *Egilocus*. They two had com-  
mission to deliuer the Ilands of Lesbos, Scio,  
and

of Quintus Curtius. 19  
and Coos, from the handes of the Persians.  
And for the furniture of their charges, appoin-  
ted to them fiftie talents. And sent to *Antipa-*  
*ter* and such other as had the gouernāce of the  
cities of Grece, lx. talēts. He gaue order that  
such as were his cōfederats, should with their  
owne power of ships defend the seas of Heles-  
spont according to the league betwixt them. It  
was not yet come to his knowledge how *Me-*  
*non* was dead, vpon whom he set his whole re-  
gard, knowing if ſ he moued not against him,  
no mā should be his stop before he came to *Da-*  
*ryus*. *Alexander* came to the Citie of Ancire  
where he made his musters, and so he entred  
into Paphlagonia, wherunto the Grecians be-  
borderes, of whom it is said the Aenetiāns be  
descēded. All this countrey yeelded vnto him,  
and gaue him pledges, obtained to bee free of  
tribute, seeing they neuer paid any to the Per-  
sians. *Calas* was Captaine there, who taking  
with him the bands of souldiers that were late-  
ly come out of Macedon, went vnto Capado-  
cia. But *Darius* hearing of the death of *Mem-*  
*non*, was no lesse mooued therewith then the  
case required, for then all other hope set a part,  
he determined to try the matter in person. For  
he condempned all thinges that had been done  
by his deputies, hauing opinion that good go-  
uernment wanted in many of them, and that  
For-

Fortune had failed in them all: He came therefore to Babylon, where he encamped, assembling all force together in sight, because hee would shew the greater courage. And vsing the ensample of *Xerxes*, in taking of his musters, entrenched so much ground about, as was able to receiue ten thousand men, within the which hee lodged in the Night such as had beene mustered in the day, & from thence they were bestowed abroad in the plaine countrey of Mesopotania. The number of his horsemen and footmen were innumerable, & yet seemed to the sight to be more then they were. There were of the Persians an hundred thousand, of whom thirtie thousand were horsemen. Of Medians ten thousand horsemen, and thirty thousand footmen. Of the Bactrians two thousand horsemen, with broad swords & light bucklers, and ten thousand footmen with lyke weapons. There were of the Armenians forty thousand footmen, and seven thousand horsemen. The Hircanians of great estimation amongst those nations had sixe thousand horsemen. The Deruicenis were forty thousand footmen armed with pikes, whereof part had no heads of Iron, but dyed the points of them in the fire. There were also of the same nation two thousand horsemen. There came from the Caspian sea eight thousand footmen

and

and two hundred horsemen, and with them of rude nations of Asia two thousand footmen, & 4. thousand horsemen. To the increase of these numbers there were thirtie thousand mercenary souldiers that were Grecks. Dast would not suffer to call for the Bactrians, Sogdians and Indians, with other the inhabitants of the red Sea. Nations which had names scarcely known to their owne King. Thus *Darius* wanting nothing lesse then the multitude of Men, greatly reioyced to behold them. And puffed vp with the vanity, and flattery of the great Men which were about him, turned to *Charidemus* of Athens, an expert Manne of Warre (whiche for the displeasure that *Alexander* did beare him, was banished the Countrey) and asked him if hee thought not that company sufficient to ouerthrow the *Acenones*. Whereunto *Charidemus* without respecte of the Kinges pride, or of his owne Estate, answered: peraduenture Sir (quoth hee) ye wil not bee content to heare the truth, and except I tel it presently, it shall be too late hereafter. This great preparation and huge armie of yours, gathered of the multitude of so many Nations, raised vp from all parts of the Orient, is more fearefull to the inhabitants here aboutes, then terrible to your Enemies. Your Men shine in coloures and glister in Armour

mour of Golde: exceeding so much in riches that they which haue not seen them with their eyes, cannot conceiue anye such thing in their mindes. But contrariwise the Macedons being rough Souldiers, without any such excess be terrible to behold. The fronts of their battails stand close together alwaies in strength furnished with pikes and targets for defence. That which they call their *Phalanx*, is an immoveable square of footmen, wherein euery one stand close to other, ioyning weapon to weapon. Euery Souldier is obedient to that which is commaunded him, ready at his Captains beck, whether it be to follow his ensigne, to keepe his aray, to stand still, to run, to fetch a compasse to change the order of the battel, to fight on this side or that side: euery Souldier can do these thinges so well as the Captaines. And because you shall not thinke gold and siluer to bee so effectuell to this matter, they began and obserued this discipline, pouerty being masters. When they be weary the ground is their bed, they are satisfied with such meat as they finde by chaunce, and they measure not their sleepe by the length of the night. Thinke you the horsemen of Thessaly, the Acharnans and Etolians which be invincible men of war, will be repulsed with Rings or stauies hardened in the fire. It behoueth ygu to haue a like force to

to repulse them, and to bee serued of the same kind of men. My counsel is therefore that you send this gold and siluer to wage Souldiers out of those countries from whence they come. *Darius* was a man of meek and tractable disposition, if the height of his estate had not altered the goodnes of his nature: which made him so vnpatient to heare the truth, that hee commaunded *Charidemus* to be put straight waies to death: being a man that was fled to his protection, and that gaue him right profitable counsell. When he was going towards his death, he left not his liberty to speak, but said ther is one at hand that shall enge my death: For he against whom I haue geuen y counsel, shall punish thee for not following of mine aduise. And thou being thus altered with the liberties thou hast being a king, shalt be an example to such as shall come after, that when men commit their dooinges to fortune, they cleerly forget themselves. Whilest *Charidemus* was speaking of these words, they which had the charge committed vnto them, put him to death, whereof afterwards the King tooke ouerlate repentance, confessing him to haue spoken the truth, and caused him to bee buried. There was one *Thymones* the Sonne of *Mentor* a young manne of great actiuitie, to whom *Darius* gaue the charge of all the souldiers

The second booke supplied  
diers, strangers (in whom he had great confi-  
dence) willing him to receiue them at Phar-  
nabatus handes, and gaue to Pharnabatus  
the rule that Memnō had before. Thus Da-  
rius being careful of the businesse hee had in  
hand, whether it were through penurienesse of  
minde, or that his fancy did diuine thinges to  
come, was continually troubled with visions  
in his sleepe. Hee dreamed that the Macedon  
camp was on fire. And shortly after it seemed  
to him that Alexander was broughte to his  
presence in such kind of apparel as he himselfe  
did weare when he was first chosen king, and  
that Alexander should bee carried on horse-  
backe through Babylon, and so vanish out of  
sight. Whereupon the interpreters of dreames  
with the diuersitie of their diuining, did driue  
Darius into diuers ymaginations. Some  
said his Dreame betokened good fortune to  
himselfe because of the fire that seemed to bee  
in his Enemies Campe, and for that Alex-  
ander without anye vesture of a King, appea-  
red in the vulgare apparail of the Persians.  
Other did enterprize it otherwise: that the  
lightning in the Macedons Campe, signified  
glory and victorie to Alexander, and also the  
enioyment of the Emperre of Asia which they  
made a cleare matter, for as muche as Alex-  
ander appeared in the same Vestures, that  
Darius

Darius ware when he was chosen king. Care  
besides and trouble of mind (as it chaunceth)  
brought things past againe to remembrance  
It was rehearsed how Darius in the begin-  
ning of his reigne chaunged the scabard of his  
sword from the Persian maner, into the fashi-  
on that the Greekes vsed. Whereupon the  
Caldeis did prognosticate that the kingdome  
of Persie should be translated to those, whose  
fashion hee had counterfaieted. And withstan-  
ding through the confidence of such prophe-  
cies as were commonly sown abroad, and of  
the vision that hee seemed to haue scene in his  
sleepe, became very merry, & commaunded his  
army to march forwardes to the river of Eu-  
phrates. It was the ancient custome amongst  
the Persians, at the Sun rising to raise their  
Camp, and warning of their setting forwardes  
to be geuen by the blast of a trumpet, sounded  
at the kinges pavilion, vppon the which there  
stood an image of the Sunne enclosed in crys-  
tall, shining so bright, that it might bee scene  
throughout the camp. The order of their mar-  
ching was in this manner. The fire which they  
call holy and eternall, was caried before vpon  
silver Altars, and the Priestes of their  
Lawe wente next singinge after their coun-  
treys manner. There followed 3000. and 65.  
young men in skarlet robes like in number vnto

The second booke supplied  
the dayes of the yeare. Then came the Cha-  
riot consecrated to *Iupiter* drawn with white  
palfreyes, a great horse following which they  
call the horse of the Sunne. Such as did ride  
upon the palfreies did wear white garments,  
bearing roddees of golde in their hands. Next  
in order came x. chariots garnished & wrought  
with silver and gold. The horsemen of twelve  
Nations followed next in sundry sort of Ar-  
mour. Then came a company that the Persi-  
ans call immortal, the riches of whose appa-  
rell exceeded farre the rest: they had all cheins  
of gold, coats embroidered with gold, & sleeves  
set with pearle. There followed within a smal  
distance a band of fifteene thousand called *Dor-  
ipherii*, reputed for the kings kinsmen, which  
were disguised in maner like women, more no-  
table for their gallantnes and variety of appa-  
rell, then for the armour they did wear. Such  
as were wont to receiue the kings robes, did  
ride next before the Chariot, vppon the which  
*Darius* did sit on high, with great pompe and  
magnificence: his Chariot beeing garnished  
on both sides with carued images of their Gods  
made of silver and gold. The Steame wherof  
was set with pearls and precious stones, with  
two Images of gold standing thereupon of a  
cubite length, combattant one against the o-  
ther, and ouer their heads an Eagle of gold dis-  
played.

played. But amongst all the rest, the kings  
apparell shewed marvellous sumptuous,  
which was of Purple empaled white, with a  
border embroidered of Golde, Faulcons fight-  
ing together. He was girt effeminately with  
a girdle of gold, and the sword that hung there-  
vppon, had the scabbard made of a pearle. The  
Diadem the King wore vppon his head called  
of the Persians *Cydarys*, had a roll about it  
of white and greene. Next behind the King  
came ten thousand horsemen, which had all  
their speares plated with silver, & their speare  
heads gilted. He was enclosed on both sides  
with two hundred of the bloud royall, at whose  
backes they followed thirte thousand foot-  
men, and after them four hundred of the kings  
coursers. Within the distance of one furlong  
*Sisygambis* the mother of *Darius* was carri-  
ed in a wagon, and his wife in another, & train  
of their Women riding on horsebacke. Next  
them went fifteen wagons, wherein the kings  
chilzen were caried, their Nurses and Cu-  
nuches, which are greatly esteemed in y<sup>e</sup> coun-  
treyp. And after them followed three hundred &  
fifty of the kings concubines all apparelled  
like Queens. Then came sixe hundred mules  
& three hundred Camels that carried y<sup>e</sup> kings  
treasure, garded with a band of Archers. The  
wives of the kings kinsmen, and the other y<sup>e</sup>

The second booke supplied  
were about the King, came riding next; & after  
them a great company of slaues, & varlets: last  
came the rereward lightly armed, whereof e-  
uery captaine senerally with his owne compa-  
ny closed in the Army, such was the order of  
Darius host. But on the other side beholding  
Alexanders army, ther was to be seen a great  
difference. Neither the men nor the horse gli-  
stered so with gold nor precious furnaments,  
but only with the brightnes of their Harnesse.  
But they were obedient at their Captaines  
becke alwaies in a readines to stay or to passe  
forwarde, neither combyed with ouer greate  
multitude, nor pestered wth to much baggage  
They wanted not in any place either grounde  
for their enūping, or victuals for their feeding  
whereby their small number was alwayes suf-  
ficient when they came to fight: Whereas Da-  
rius the Loꝝ of so huge a multitude, through  
the streightnes of the ground, wherein he was  
driven to geue battaile, could worke but the  
effect of a smal number, being the thing which  
he before had dyspised in hys enemy. Alexander  
appointed to Abistamines the rule of Capa-  
docia, and marching with his army towardes  
Cilicia, came to the place called Cyrus camp;  
because Cyrus longed there, when he passed  
into Licia against King Cressus. This place  
was distant about fiftye furlonges from the  
freight

of Quintus Curtius. 24  
freight, entering into Cilicia. The countrey  
men vse to cal those freights Pylar, whereas  
the naturall situation of the place had made a  
fortification, as it were with mans hands: whē  
Arsenes gouernour of Cilicia vnderstood of  
Alexanders coming, remembering what o-  
pinion Memnon was of in the beginning of hys  
wars, put in execution his wise counsell when  
it was too late, wasting & destroying throug-  
out Cilicia, all such thinges as hee thoughte  
might stande his Enemy in stead, leauing the  
countrey wast, which he thought he was not a-  
ble to defende: wheras it had bin much better  
to haue taken the freight before his enemies,  
where from the hilles lying ouer the way, hee  
might without hysarde, either haue letted his  
entry, or els haue distressed him in his passing.  
But he leauing a smal number for the de-  
fence of the freight, retyrēd himselfe backe to wast  
the countrey, which his part had bene to defend  
from destruction. By his departure it came to  
passe that such as he left behind, thinking the-  
sclues betrayed, would not so much as abide  
the sight of their Ennemyes, when a much e-  
lesse number had beene sufficient to haue kept  
the passage. For the situation of Cilicia is  
such, that it is enuironed round about with a  
continual rough and steape mountaine which  
rysing from the Sea on the one side, and fet-  
ting

The second booke supplied  
ching a compasse about, ioyneſh againe with ſea on the other ſide. Through the part of the mountaine, which lyeth furdeſt from the Sea, there be three narrow and rough passages, by one of the which they muſt enter, that wil paſſe into Sicilia. The countrey towards the Sea is plaine and full of riuers, amongſt the which two lee notable, Pyramus and Cydnus, but Cydnus moſte ſpeciall, not ſo muche for his greatnes, as for y cleernes of his water, which from his firſt ſpring riſeth pleaſantly through all the Countrey, and hath no other riuier running into him to diſturbe the pureneſſe of his ſtreame. For which cauſe it remaineth alwayes cleare, and alſo colde, by reaſon of the Woods that do ſhadow all the bankes. Time hath conſumed many antiquities within that countrey, which be remembred of the Poets. Ther may yet bee ſeene the foundations of Cities of Lirneſſus, and Cebeſtus, with the caue and wood of Cozicius, where Saffron groweth, with many other things wherof nothing remaineth ſauing onely the fame. When Alexauder entered the Straights be fore mentioned, and behelde the ſituacion of them, hee neuer in all his life maruelled more at his own felicity & good fortune, confeſſing that it had not been poſſible for him to haue paſſed, if any had ſtoode at defence againſt him: for that with ſtones onely he might

of Quintus Curtius. 25  
might haue bin diſtreſſed, the ſtraight beſides beeing ſo narrow, that there could not paſſe aboue ſoure in a front. To the encrease of which difficultie, the tops of the mountaines bong ouer the waies which in many places were broken and made holow, with the ſtreams that ranne downe from the Hilles. Alexander ſent the Thracians that were light armed, to ſtope and diſcouer y waies, for fear the enemies ſhould lie there in buſhment, and ſodainly break forth vpon him. He appointed alſo a band of Archers to take the top of the Hil, which were willed ſo to march, that they might be alwayes in a readines to fight. After this maner he came with his army to the cittie of Carſon, which was ſet on fire by the Perſians, becauſe that Alexander ſhould finde no harbour there. But Parmenio was ſent thither with a choiſe number of Horſemen to quench the fire. Who vnderſtanding that the enemies were fled away through his comming, entered into the Cittie and by that meanes ſaued it from burning. The Riuier of Cydnus ſpoken of be fore, did runne through this Citie, where the King arrived about midday, it beeing in the Sommer ſeaſon, what time the heate is no where more feruent then in that countrey. Hee tooke ſuch delight in the pleaſantnes of the water, that he would needes bath his body, to waſh away the ſwea

The third Booke supplied  
sweat and dust he had caught. And beeing in a  
heate entered naked into the water in euery  
mans sight, thinking it should be a contenta-  
cion to his souldiers, to see that the furniments  
about his body were none other but such as  
they commonly vsed to weare. Hee was not so  
soon entred, but all the parts of his body bega  
to shake and tremble, his face waxed pale, and  
the liuely beate was mortified in all partes of  
his body: his seruants tooke him vp and carri-  
ed him into his tent, as one besides himselfe &  
at the extreame point of death. Then there was  
a great desolation and heavines in the campe,  
they wept, lamented, and bewailed that such a  
king so noble a captaine as had not been seene  
in any age, should thus be taken from them in  
the chiefe of his enterpryse, and burnt of all his  
businesse, and that after such a maner, not in  
battaille slaine by his enemies, but thus cast a-  
waye bathing in a Riuer. It grieved them  
that Darius now being at hand should obtaine  
the victory by such a chaunce, without seeing  
of his enemy, and that they should bee inforced  
to resourne backe againe as men vanquished  
by those countries, through the which they had  
passed before as victors. In which countries  
all thinges beeing destroyed by themselves, or  
by their enemies, it was of necessity for them  
to dye for hunger, though no man should pursue  
them

of Quintus Curtius. 26  
them. It became a question amongst themselves  
who should be their Captaine in their flying a-  
way: or what he were that durst succeed Alexan-  
der: & though they might safely arrive at the sea  
of thelespont, yet who should prepare the pas-  
sage there. When they had disputed these que-  
stions, their argument by and by was turned  
into compassion towards their prince, lament-  
ing as men out of their wits, that such a floure  
of youth, such a force of courage as was in him  
that the same their kinge and companion in  
arms, should after this sort be taken from the.  
In the meane season Alexander beganne to  
fetche his winde somewhat better, and when  
he came vnto himselfe hee lifted vp his eyes and  
beganne to know his friends that were aboute  
him. That the vehemence of his sickness some-  
what allwaged, was perceined in that he bega  
to vnderstand the perill he was in. But the pen-  
siveness of his minde was great hinderance  
vnto his healthe, for tydings came that  
Darius within fve dayes would bee in Ellici-  
a, which was the chiefe thing that made him  
to sorowe and lament. Hee coulde not take it  
but grievously, that such a victory should bee  
plucked out of his handes through his infirmi-  
tie. And that he should be taken as one tyed in  
fettlers, and bee put to some shamefull and vile  
death. Hee called therefore to him both his  
friends

The third Booke supplied  
friendes and Physicians and said vnto them:  
See in what state of my businesse fortune  
hath taken me. We thinke the noyse of mine e-  
nemies doe ring in mine eares, and I which  
moued first the warre, am now challenged and  
prouoked to the fight. When Darius did write  
to me such proud letters, he was not ignorant  
of mine estate: yet peradventure he shall bee  
receiued, if I may vse mine owne mind in re-  
couery of mine owne health. My case requireth  
no slacke medicines, nor slowe physicians: I  
had rather dye stoutly at once, then to consume  
long time in my recovery. Wherefore if there  
be any hope or cunning in physick, let it be shew-  
ed. And thinke that I seeke not remedy so  
much for mine owne life, as I doe for the care  
I haue to encounter with mine enemies. When  
they heard him speake these wordes, they were  
in great doubt of his sodeine rashnes, & there-  
fore euery one required him apart, that hee  
would not encrease his peril through any hast,  
but suffer himselfe to be ordered by the aduice  
of his physicians. For they alleaged that vn-  
prooued remedies were not suspected of them  
without cause, seeing his ennemy had gone a-  
bout to corrupt such as were about him, by  
promising a thousande Talentes to his killer,  
which cause alleaged, they thought no man  
would bee so bolde to make any experience of  
physick

Physick vppon him, which for the want of try-  
all therof, might in any wise gene cause of sus-  
pection. There was amongst the excellent  
physicians that came with Alexander out of  
Macedon, one Philip of Acozon, which was  
preferred to him for preservation of his health  
and had faithfully serued him from his child-  
hood, and therefore loued him with entire affec-  
tion. He promised to prouide for the king an ap-  
proued remedie, but such one as would worke  
vehemently: but by the drinking thereof, hee  
doubted not: (hee said) but to expulse the force  
of his disease. That promise pleased no man,  
but only him which in the prooffe therof should  
abide the perill for he could endure all thinges  
better then delay. Darius and his power were  
alwaies in his eie, and he had an assured confi-  
dence that the victorie should fall on his side, if  
he might be able but to stand in the sight of his  
men. The Thing that only greeued him was,  
that the Physician would not minister before  
the third day. In the meane season Parmenio  
whom of all his nobilitie he trusted most, had  
exhorted him by his letter, that hee should not  
commit himselfe to the cure of Philip, for that  
he was corrupted by Darius with a thousand  
Talents, and the promise of his sister in mari-  
age. Those letters brought the king in great  
care and doubt, and moued him to way and  
ponder

ponder secretly with himselfe all those things, that either feare or hope could put in his head. Shall I adventure (thought he) to drinke this medicine? what if it be poyson, shall I not then bee accompted the cause of mine owne death? shall I suspect the fidelity of my Physician? or shall I suffer mine enemy to kill mee in my bedde: yet were it better for me to perish by other mens treason, then thus to die throughe mine owne faint hart. His mind being thus diuersly wrought, he would shew the contents of the letter to no man but sealed it w<sup>th</sup> his owne ring, and layd it vnderneath his pillow. Two daies were passed in these imaginations, and the 3. day the Physician came to his Beds side with the medicine ready made. When the king saw him, he raised vp himselfe vpon his elbow, and taking the letter in his left hande, with the other hand tooke the cuppe, and streight waye supped it off: when he had so done, he deliuered the letter to Philip to reade, and whilst hee was reading, he beheld him continually in the face, supposing that if he had been faulty, some token would haue appeared in his countenance. When Philip had read the letter, hee shewed more tokens of displeasance then of feare, and therewithall fell downe vpon his knees, and said: sir, I see my life doth depende vpon your health, but your recovery shall declare

I am falsly charged with this treason: therefore when by my meares you shall gette your health, I trust you will not then deny mee my life. In the mean season lay fear aside, and suffer the medicine to worke & to haue his operation. Keep your mind quiet, & suffer not yourself to be troubled w<sup>th</sup> the superstitious carefulnes of your friends, which though it proceedeth of good wil, is notwithstanding much impediment vnto your health. His wordes not onely satisfied the k<sup>ing</sup>, but made him to conceiue perfect hope of his recovery, and said vnto Philip: If the gods would haue granted thee to heale a mean to proue the confidence I haue in thee and the goodwill I beare thee, thou couldest not haue chosen any so good as this is: for notwithstanding the letter I dranke off the medicine, beleeying thee to be no lesse careful for declaration of thine own truth, then for my health, & therewith gaue him his hand. Yet afterwards when the medicine began to work, it was such in operations, that it seemed to verify Parmenio his accusation, for he fainted off: and had much labor to draw his breath. Then Philip left nothing vnproued or vndone that might serue for his purpose. He laid warme clothes to his bodie, and alwaies as hee fainted, renewed him againe with the saour of one thinge and other. And when hee perceived him once to come

The third Booke supplied  
come to himselfe; hee ceased not to feede him  
with talke, and one while put him in remem-  
brance of his mother and sisters, another while  
of the great victorie that was at hand. When  
the power of the medicine once entred into his  
veines there appeared streight in all partes of  
his body manifest tokens of health. First quiet-  
nes came to the spirits, and after the body re-  
couered his strength, a great deale sooner then  
any man looked for. For the third day after he  
had been in this case hee walked in the sight of  
the Souldiers which wonderfullie retoyced to  
see him. And they shewed no lesse affection vn-  
to Philip whom euery one senerally embraced  
and gaue him thanks, as if he had been a God.  
It cannot be expessed besides that natural ve-  
neration that Macedons vse to bear vnto their  
Prince, in what reuerence they especially had  
Alexander, & how feruently they loued him.  
They had conceined of him an opinion that he  
could enterprise nothing but that it was furthe-  
red by God, and Fortune was so fauourable  
vnto him, that his rashnes was alwaies an in-  
crease of his glory. His age besides scarcely ripe,  
and yet sufficient for so great things, did mar-  
uellously set forth all his doings. And things  
which out of the Warres should bee counted  
lightnes, are wont to be most acceptable to  
Souldiers, as the exercising of his Body a-  
mongst

of Quintus Curtius. 29  
mongst them, his apparell not differing from  
the common sorte, with his courage and for-  
wardnes in the field: which giftes geuen him  
of nature, and things besides done of policie,  
did get him both lone & reuerence of his peo-  
ple. When Darius heard of Alexanders sick-  
nes, he marched towardes the Riuer of Eu-  
phrates with all the hast he could make, in co-  
ueying of so combrous an army. Hee made  
there a bridge, and in fiftene daies passed o-  
uer, his people hauing great desire to get Ci-  
licia before his enemy. By that time Alexan-  
der, had recouered his strength, & was come  
to a City called Solos, which the inhabitants  
peelbed vnto him, and for two hundred talents  
obtained assurance. Notwithstanding he put  
a garrison in the Castle, and there celebrated  
plaies and triumphes which hee had vowed to  
Aesculapius and Minerva, for the recovery  
of his health: where beeinge geuen so quickly  
to his pastime, shewed how little hee esteemed  
the coming of his enemies. Whilist Alex-  
ander was busied about these things, hee re-  
ceiued pleasant newes, how his men wonne a  
battaile the Persians at Halicarnessus, and  
that the Indians and Caluicians with diuers  
other nations in those parts were brought vn-  
der his obedience. This triumph once ended,  
hee remooued, and by a bridge made ouer the  
Riuer

Riuer of Pyramus, hee came to the Citie of Malon: & from thence with an other remoue came to a Towne called Castabulon. There Parmenio returned to the Kinge, which had been sent to search the streights that laye betweene them and the Citie of Isson. Hee had prevented the Persians at the passage, and so leauing men for the defence thereof, tooke the Citie of Isson that was left desolate. Hee departed from thence, and did driue the Persians out of the mountaines, searching & clearing al the waies: so h hauing made all things sure for the army to passe, hee returned againe both the author of the acte, and repozter of the thing done. Alexander encamped within the citie, and there debated in counsell whether it were better to passe on further, or else to tary there for a more sure power which was coming to him out of Macedon. Parmenio was of opinion that this place was most meetest to abide Darius in, and geue him battayle, where both the Armies should be of like force by reason of the Streights, wherein no great multitude could fight at once. He shewed reasons why they ought to eschue the plainnesse, wherein their Enemies should haue great aduantage throughe their great number that might enclose them about. Wherein (hee said) he doubted not his eneuies stoutnes, but onely feared

feared that their owne men might be ouercorn with wearinesse, where a multitude shoulde fight with a few, and fresh men succeed in the place of them that fainted. This counsaile was receiued for good and Alexander determined in the same place to abide his enemies. There was in the Host of the Macedons one Sysenes a Persian, sent before time from the gouernoure of Egypt vnto king Philip: who beeing aduanced with reward and promotions, choose to liue out of his owne countrey, & so following Alexander into Asia, was esteemed among those that the king trusted well. A souldier of Crete deliuered him a letter from Nabarzanes Darius Lieuetnant, wherein he exhorted him to do some notable enterprise, whereby he might win fauour and reputation with Darius. Sisenes innocent of this matter, was about diuers times to present the letter to the King, but seeing him occupied with waightye affairs of prouision for the battaile, prolonged the matter. And whilst hee waited for a more conuenient tyme, hee brought him selfe in suspicion of treason. For the Letter was brought to the Kinges handes before it was deliuered to him: who reading it, did seale it with a strange seale, & caused it to be liuered to Sisenes to prooue thereby his fidelity. But because he concealed the thing many daies

The second booke supplied  
and opened not the matter to the King, it seemed that he consented thereunto: And therefore by the Kinges commaundement hee was put to death by the hande of the Cretensians. The Greek Souldiers which Thimodes had receiued of Pharnabatus (beeinge those that Darius trusted most) were come to him: they perswaded much Darius to retire backe into the plaines of Mesopotania, and if hee would not do so, that at the least he should deuide his power, and not commit the whole force of his estate to one stroke of fortune. This counsaile was not so displeasing vnto the King, as it was to such as were about him. For they sayd mercenarie souldiers were alwaies full of treason, and were to be doubted the more for that they counselled the army to be deuided, which was for no other purpose, but only that they might haue commoditie to flie vnto Alexander, whē they should haue any charge committed vnto them. There is nothing therefore more sure for vs (quoth they) then to enclose them round about with our armye, and to cut them in pieces, for an example to the worlde that treason should neuer bee left vntreunged. But Darius which was of a meeke and good disposition, refused to committe so cruell an act, in slaying such as had betaken themselves to his trust: For if wee should file our handes (quoth hee) with

of Quintus Curtius. 31  
with their blood, what strange Nation would euer then commit themselves into our handes: alleaging that there ought no man to loose his life for geuing foolish counsaile. For who would behold to geue counsell, if in counselling there should be any perill? I call you (quod hee) to counsell daylye, and heare the diuersity of your opinions, and yet mistrust not them that geue me not alwaies the best counsell. He caused the Greckes to be answered, that hee gaue them thanks for their goodwill. But in returning backe, he said he would geue vp his Countrey into his enemies handes, which were not conuenient. And considering the force that fame is of in warre, in going backe hee should appear to flye. But to differ the fight he thought it worst of all, seeing so great an army as hee had (the Winter then approaching) could not be victualed in a desolate Countrey, that had been wasted both by themselves, and by their enemies. And for the deuiding of his power he shewed that he could not doo it, obseruing the custome of his predecessors, which were not wont to hasard the battail, but with whole power hee declared that Alexander before his coming seemed terrible to the world, and throughe his absence was brought in a vaine presumption. But after he saw him come forwards, became wary and well aduised, hiding him

The thirde booke supplied him in the straighes of the Mountaines, like those toward Beasts which hearing the noise of commers by, do hide themselves in dens of woods. Hee hath blinded his souldiers (as he) with his counterfeit sicknes, but now I will not suffer him to prolong the fight any longer, which if he will refuse, I will oppresse him in his lurking hole. These words he spake with greater anaunt then truth, and sent his treasure and Jewels with a small conuoye to Damascus in Syria, & entred with his armye into Cilicia, bringinge with him according to his Countrey manner, both his mother, his wife, his litle sonne, & his daughter. It chanced the same night that Alexander was come to the streight entring into Siria, Darius came vnto the place which they call Nilae Amanicae: the Persians not doubting at all but that the Macedons would haue forsaken the citie of Isson, and fled away for feare. For certaine of them that were weak & could not followe the army were taken, the which Darius through instigation of the great men about him raging in barbarous cruelty, caused their handes to be cut off, and to be led about his campe, to the intent they might behold the multitude of his men, whom after sufficient view taken, he let them goe to shew Alexander what they had seene. Darius remooued and passed the riuer of Pyramus,

ramus, purposing to pursue after the Macedons, which hee thought had bene flyinge away. They which had their handes cutte off, came running in amongst the Macedons, declaring, that Darius was comming in greate hast. There was scarcely anye credence geuen to their wordes, but to be sure, Alexander sent Spyes towardes the Sea Coast, to knowe whether Darius were there in person, or else had sent some other to make a shewe of a power. The Spies returning, did report that his whole Army was at hande, and straight waies the fiers might be seene, which gaue such a shew (by reason they lay stragling so farre abroad to get forage) as though the whole countrey had bin on fire. When Alexander was ascertained of the truth, hee encamped in the same place where the tydings came vnto him, being maruellous gladd because he knew hee should fight, specially in the streights, being the thing that he had alwaies desired. But as it is commonly seene, when danger and extremity is at hand, confidence is conuerted in to fear. So doubted not without great cause, that fortune might change vppon him, by whose fauoure hee had done so great actes, and considering her mutability vs such things, as she had taken from other, and geue to him. Hee saw there was no prologation of

The second booke supplied  
the time, but that after one Night passed, the  
victory should bee determined. Yet on the o-  
ther side, hee called vnto remembrance how  
rewarde ensuing of the victorie, farre excee-  
ded the aduenture. For as the chaunce was  
doubtfull, so being discomfited, he was cer-  
taine to die with honour and perpetuall praise.  
When he had wated these things, he gaue or-  
der that his souldiers should refresh themselves  
and at the third watch to be armed and in a re-  
adines to set forward. Hee himselfe went vp  
into the top of a Mountain with many tor-  
ches and lights about him, where he made sa-  
crifice vnto the gods after his Countrey ma-  
ner. And when the houre was come appointed  
vnto the souldiers at the 3. sound of the trom-  
pet, they were in a readines both to march and  
fight. Then exhortacion was geuen vnto them  
to passe on with bolde courage, and so by the  
spring of the day they were come to the straights,  
wherein their purpose was to preuent Darius.  
By that time such as were sent before to sco-  
wer the Countrey, came in, and reported that  
the Persians were within thirtie Furlonges.  
Then the Battels were staied, and set in such  
order as they should fight. Like as Alexan-  
der was enformed of Darius, so hee was ad-  
uertised of Alexander by the pleasantnesse of  
the Countrey, which came fearfullie running  
vnto

vnto him, declaring that Alexander was at  
hand. These words were not belieued: for they  
could not thinke them to bee comming whom  
they thought before to be fled. But when they  
perceiued that it was so, indeede, because they  
were in better order to pursue their Enemies  
then to encounter with them in battayle, they  
were stricken with a mervellous sodaine feare.  
Euery man tooke him to his armour in haste,  
which hast, and the calling that one made vpon  
another did put a greater fear amongst them.  
Some ran vp to the tops of the hills to vewe  
the Macedons, other fell to brideling their hor-  
ses. So that the Host full of diuersitie, and not  
ruled by any certaine gouernment, with their  
hurley burley, put all things out of order. Da-  
rius at the first had appointed one parte of his  
power to take the Mountain, which setting vpon  
his Enemies backs might enclose them  
both behinde and before: and assigned another  
company to passe along the sea side which was  
on the right hand, to keepe his enemies dooing  
on euery part. He gaue order also that twenty  
thousand footmen with a lead of archers should  
passe the riuer of Pyramus, and geue an onset  
that way. But if they found any impediment  
why they might not doe so, then he willed them  
to retire amongst the Mountaines and invade  
their enemies on their backs. But Fortune  
which

The third Booke supplied  
which was of greater force then any pollicie,  
determined those things that were well deu-  
led, according as she thought good. For some  
durst not for feare execute the thing that was  
commaunded them, and then the rest worked  
in vaine: For where the Members faile, the  
whole body is confounded. The order of Da-  
rius army stood thus aranged to fight: his  
power being deuided into two battailes: one  
marching on the left hande, and the other on y<sup>e</sup>  
righte. Nabarzanes enpaied the battaile on  
the right hand with a great power of horsmen  
and thirtie thousand Slingers and Archers.  
Thymones was also in the battaile with xxx.  
thousand mercenarie Greeks, beeing in very  
used Darius chiefest force: a power equall  
vnto Phalanx of the Macedons. In the bat-  
taile on the left hand Aristomenes was in y<sup>e</sup>  
forefront with xxx. M. footmen, hauing plaied  
for his succour & reliefe, such nations as were  
counted most valiant. There were about the  
M. beeing also in the battaile three thousande  
choise horsmen, that were of the ordinarie  
guard of his person, & xl. M. footmen, with the  
horsmen Hircany and Media, and the hors-  
men of other Nations were winges on both  
sides. And besides these numbres there went  
before his battell in a forlorne hoope vi. thousand  
Slingers and casters of Darts. All the plain  
ground

of Quintus Curtius. 34  
ground between the streights was filled with  
men of war, and Darius battell stood arran-  
ged from the mountaine down to the sea side.  
The mother and wife of Darius with all the  
flockes of women, were receiued in the mids  
of the battaile. Alexander on the other side  
set his square battail of footmen called Pha-  
lanx (beeing the Macedons chiefest force) in  
the forefront. Nicanor the sonne of Parme-  
nio was captaine of the battaile on the right  
hand, and with him Cenot & Perdicas, Me-  
laeger, Ptolomeus, & Amintas were ioined  
euery one with his own band. Parmenio and  
Caterus had the rule of the battaile on the left  
hand which stretched towardes the Sea, but  
Parmenio had the chiefe charge. Horsmen  
were set in wings to both those battails. The  
Macedon men, & Thessalien horsmen being ap-  
pointed to the right hand battail, & the horse-  
men of Pelopenese to the battail on the other  
syde, before which battaile there were also set  
Slingers with Archers amongst them, and  
the Cretesians that were lightlye armed,  
went before the maine battaile. The band of  
Agrians that were lately come out of Greece  
were assigned to encounter with those that  
Darius had sent to take the top of the moun-  
taine. Hee willed Parmenio that as much as  
he might, hee should stretch out his bande to-  
wards

The third Booke supplied  
wards the sea to withdraw so far as hee could  
from the hilles which the Enemies had taken:  
But such as had direction by Darius take the  
hills, neither durst resist such as came against  
them, nor yet compasse about suche as were  
passed by them, but fled away at the first sight  
of the Slingers. Which thing chaunced well  
for Alexander, for it was the thinge that hee  
doubted most, that they from the higher ground  
should invade y open side of his battail, which  
lay vnsflanked towards them. The Macedons  
marched 32. in a ranke, for the streightnes of  
the ground would not suffer them to goe any  
broader, but by litle and litle as the plaine be-  
twene the Mountaines began to enlarge, so  
they had libertie both to make their battailes  
broader, and also for the horsemen to march v-  
pon the sides. When both the battailes were  
com within sight together, the Persians first  
gave a terrible and rude shout, which was a-  
gaine doubled of the Macedons, not with their  
number, which were far inferiour vnto y Per-  
sians, but with the rebound of the hilles and the  
rockes, which doubled euery voyce of theirs.  
Alexander did ride by and downe before the  
fronts of his battalles, making a signe to his  
souldiers with his bande, that they should not  
make ouer much hast to ioyne with their ene-  
mies, for bringing themselves out of breath.  
And

of Quintus Curtius. 35  
And as he passed by, hee vsed to euery Nation  
sundry exhortacions, as hee thought meete for  
their dispositions and quality. He put the Ma-  
cedons in remembrance of their old promes and  
manhod with the number of battaills that they  
had won in Europe, how that they were come  
together aswell by his conuict, to subdue Asia  
and the vttermost boundes of the Orient. Hee  
shewed them to be the people that were orde-  
ned to conquere the Worlde, and to passe the  
boundes both of Hercules and Bachus. Hee  
declared that both Bactria and Inde shoulde  
be theirs, in respect of which the countreyes that  
they had seene were but trifles, and yet were  
to be gotten all with one victoery: wherein hee  
said, their trauell should not bee in vaine, as it  
was in the barraine rockes of Illiria, or in the  
Mountains of Thrace, but that in this conquest  
the spoile of the whole Orient was offered vnto  
them. For the gettinge whercof they shoulde  
scarcely neede to occupy their swords, since y  
battaills of their enemies wauered so alreadie  
for feare, that with their approche onely they  
should put them to flight. He reduced his fa-  
ther Philip vnto their memoery, how hee con-  
quered y Athenians with the countree of Bo-  
etia, where hee raised to the ground the noble  
citie of Thebes. After that he made rehearall  
of the battaile won at the riuer of Granicke, &  
of

The third Booke supplied  
of all the Cities that he had taken, or that had  
beeue peeled vnto him, with the Countreys  
they had passed throughe and subdued. When  
hee came vnto the Greekes hee desired them  
to call to mind the great warres that had bene  
made against their Countrey in tymes passe  
by the Persians. First by the pride of Perres,  
and after by Darius, who made destruction  
both by water and land in such sorte that the  
riuers could not serue them of drinke, nor the  
earth of victuals for to eat: reher sing also how  
the temples of their gods had beene by them  
polluted and put to ruine, their Citties over-  
throwen, & the truces and promises by the vi-  
olated & broken, that were confirmed both by  
diuine and humaine lawes. When he passed by  
the Illirians and Thracians which were ac-  
customed alwaies to liue vpon theft, & spoil:  
he bade them behold their enemies which gli-  
stered with Golde, and bare no armour, but  
spoil for them to take. Hee encouraged them  
to goe forwards like men, and plucke the pray  
from those effeminate women, and to make ex-  
change of their craggy rockes and bare hills  
alwaies full of snow, for the plentifull groves  
and rich lands of Persie. By the time hee had  
made these exhortacions, they were come with-  
in the throw of their darts. And Darius hor-  
men gaue a fierce charge vpon the right hand  
battail

battaille of the Macedons. For Darius desire  
was to trie the battaille by horsemen, iudging  
(as it was indeed) that the chiefe power of  
his enemies consisted in their square battaille  
of footmen. So that the battaille where Alex-  
ander remained, was brought to the point of  
enclosing about, if hee had not perceiued the  
same in time, who commaunded two troopes  
of his horsemen to keep the top of the hill, and  
brought all the rest to the encounter of his e-  
nemies. Then he conueied the Thessaliē hor-  
men from the place where they stood to fight,  
willing their Captain to bring them about be-  
hind the battails, and there ioyning with Par-  
menio, to doe þ thing manfully that he should  
appointe them. By this the valant of the  
Macedons in manner enclosed aboute with  
their enemies, fought notablie on all partes,  
but they stood so thicke, and were so ioyned  
one to an other, that there wanted scope to  
weld their Darts. They were so mingled to-  
gether, that in casting one letted another, very  
few lighted vpon the enemies with weak diuts  
and the most part fell on the ground without  
harmedoing, wherefore beeing enforced to  
iayne hande for hande, they valiantly vsed the  
sword. Then ther was great effusiō of bloud:  
for both the armies closed so neare, that their  
harnies clashed together, weapō against wea-  
pon

The third Booke supplied  
 pō, and foined one at anothers face with their  
 swords. There was no place for the fearefull  
 or the coward for to flye barke, but each set his  
 foot to another, and by fighting kept still their  
 place, till they could make their way by force,  
 and so alwaies passed forwarde, as they had  
 once overthrowe their enemies. As they were  
 wried and trauelled thus with fighting, they  
 were euer receiued with fresh enemies: & such  
 as were wounded might not depart out of the  
 battal'e (as it hath beene seen allwhere) their  
 Enemies assailed them so fiercely befoze, and  
 their fellows thrust on so hard behind. Alex-  
 ander that daye did not onely such thinges as  
 pertained to a Captain, but aduentured him-  
 selfe as far as any priuat souldier, coueting by  
 all meanes to kill Darius, which hee esteemed  
 the greatest honor. Darius did ride aloft vpon  
 his chariot, geuing great prouocation both to  
 his enemies to assaile him, & for his owne men  
 to defend him. As Oxatres the brother appe-  
 ared most notable amongst them all in his fur-  
 niture and personage, so in hardines and affe-  
 ction towards the King, he exceeded farre the  
 rest specially in that case of necessitie. For whe-  
 he saw Alexander approach so neere, he thrust  
 in befoze Darius with the bande of horsemen,  
 wherof he had the charge, wheras overthrow-  
 in diuers, he put many to flight. But the Pa-  
 cedons

of Quintus Curtius. 37  
 cedons swarmed so aboute the Kinge, and  
 were in such a courage by the exhortatio that  
 ech made to other, that they charged againe  
 vpon the band of horsemen. Then the slaugh-  
 ter was greate, and the ouerthrowe manifest.  
 About the chariot of Darius the noblest of his  
 Captains lay, dying honourably in the sighte  
 of their Prince. For like as they receiued their  
 deaths woundes, so they fell without turning  
 their backs. Amongst them Atycies, Romi-  
 thres, and Sabages gouernour of Egypt, ha-  
 uing the charge of great numbers of men, were  
 overthrowen and slaine, and a rout them there  
 lay by heaps a huge number of the vulgar sort,  
 both of horsemen and footmen. Of the Pa-  
 cedons also some were slaine, specially of such as  
 pressed most forward, among whom the right  
 shoulder of Alexander lightly was hurt with  
 a sword. In this thronge the horses that drew  
 Darius Chariot, were thrust in with pikes,  
 which being wounded for paine of their wounds,  
 began to struggle and quere from their master.  
 He fearing therefore to be taken, leaped  
 downe and was set vpon a leane horse, and so  
 fled away, casting his Diadem from his head  
 because hee would not bee knowne. Then  
 all his men for feare disparclen, flying by such  
 waies as were open for them, and threw away  
 their armour, which befoze they had taken for  
 their

their defence. Suche a thing is feare, that refuse the thing that should bee his safegarde, When Parmenio sawe them flie, hee straight commaunded the horsemen to pursue them in the chase, and put all his enemies to flight that were on that part. But on the other hande the Persians did put the Thessalien horsemen to a sore distresse, for at the first shooke they had broken one of their troupes: yet for all that whē the Thessalians saw their enemies passe through them, they closed themselves together againe, & charged vpon the Persians, who by reason of their onset geuinge, & for that they thought themselves sure of the victorie, became cleane out of order, and were ouerthrowne with great slaughter. The Thessaliens had herein a great aduantage by reason that the Persians besides that they be armed themselves haue their horses also barbed with plates of Steele, which was the cause they could not on the onset, or retire be so quicke, as the Thessaliens were: for by their celeritie, where in the feat of horsemen chiefly consisteth, they did ouerthrowne many of them before they could turne their horses about. whē Alexander understood that his men preuailed of their enemies on that part likewise, was bolde then to follow in the chase, which hee durst not do before hee knewe the battaile to bee clearely wonne, & the enemies repulsen on all sides. Alexander

Alexander had not about him aboue 8. horsemen, with whom he slew innumerable of his enemies. For who is he that in an other throw or chase can number men? Those few Macedons did drive the multitude of their enemies before them like sheepe, and the same fear that caused them flie, staied them likewise in their flying. The Grecians that were on Darius side, vnder their Captain Amyntas (which sometime had been in great authoritie with Alexander, but then against him) brake out from the rest, and marched away in order of battaile. All the rest fled diuers waies, some directly towards Persie, and some by pathes, and priue waies escaped by the mountains and the woods. A few there were that recovered their former Campe, which they could not defend any time against the Macedons that were victours, but the same immediatly was won, being aboundant of all riches, of golde and silver, appertaining not onely to the wars, but to all voluptuousnes & exesse: which riches whiles the souldiers violently spoiled, they strowed the waies full of packs & fardels, which they would not touch, in respect of the couetous desire they had to thinges of greater valew. But when they came vnto women, as their timentes were most precious, so they more violently they plucked the away, their bodies were not free from their lust & enforcement.

The third booke supplied  
forcement. The campe euerie where was full  
of tumult and lamentacion, as chaunce fell to  
each one. The licenciousnes of the victozers  
was such, that their crueltie raged vpon all a-  
ges and kind of creatures, and no kinde of mis-  
chiefe wanted amongst them. There might  
haue bin seen the variableness of fortune, when  
they which had prepared Darius pauilion with  
all kind of delicacy and rich furniture, reserued  
and kept the same for Alexander as for their  
olde master. For the Macedons had left that  
vnspoiled according to their ancient custome,  
which are euer wonte to receiue their King when  
he is victorizous into the Kinges pavilion that  
he hath vanquished. The mother and wife of  
Darius þat were taken prisoners, moued al-  
men to cast their eies and inward contempla-  
cion twards them, whereof the one deserued  
to bee reuerenced for the chastitie that was in  
her, and for her age, and the other for the ex-  
cellency of her beauty, which through her mis-  
adventure was nothing stained. She was seen  
embracing her little sonne in her armes, not  
yet of the age of six years, borne as inheritor  
to the dominion which his Father newly had  
lost. There lay also two yong virgins in their  
gr and mothers lap, euen then mar table, which  
languished and lamented not so much through  
their own priuat sorow, as for the dolorousnes  
of

of the old woman. About the mother and the  
wife were a great number of noble women  
that pulled their haire and tare their clothes,  
without respect what appertained to their e-  
state. Who vnmindful of þe fall of Darius wife  
and his mother were come vnto, called them  
still by the name of Queenes, with such other  
titles of honor as they did before. They all for-  
getting their own misery, were diligent to en-  
quire the fortune of the field, and what succes  
the battaile had where Darius was. For if he  
were aliue (they saide) they coulde in no wise  
thinke themselves Prisoners. But he by the  
chaunging of many horses, was by that time  
fled farre away. There were slaine of the Per-  
sian footmen a hundred thousand, and ten þ.  
horsemen. And of Alexanders company one-  
ly 504, hurt, and 32. footmen and 11. horsemen  
killed. So great a victorie was gotten with so  
small a losse. Alexander that was wearied  
with pursuing of Darius, when hee perceiued  
the nighte to draw on, and that there was noe  
hope to ouertake him whom hee followed, re-  
turned into the Persians campe, which a litle  
before his conuincing was taken by his men.  
That night he made a banquet to such as hee  
accustomed to call, for the hurte of his shoul-  
der, whereof the skinne was but smallye peri-  
shed, letted him not to keepe companie. As  
they

The thirde booke supplied  
they sate at meate, sodainly they heard a pittifull  
crie, with a straunge howling and lamentation,  
that put them all in great feare: in so much that  
the band that kept the watch about the kings  
pavilion, feareing it to be the beginning of some  
greater matter, began to arme themselves.  
The wife & mother of Darius, with the other  
noble women newly taken prisoners, were the  
cause of his sodaine feare, by lamenting of Da-  
rius, whom they supposed had bin slain. Which  
opinion they conceiued through one of the Eu-  
nuches, which standing before their tent doore,  
saw a souldiour carry a parcel of Darius diadem,  
which he a little before had cast from his head.  
When Alexander vnderstood their error, he  
wept (as it was said) to consider Darius mis-  
fortune, & the womens affection towards him.  
And for their comfort sent to the one Mithre-  
nes that betrayed Sardes, who was expert in  
the Persian tongue, but yet considering that  
the sight of him being a traitour, should but in-  
crease their sorrow, let a noble man called Le-  
onatus, to declare to them how they were de-  
ceiued, and that Darius was alive. He came  
towards the tent where the women were, with  
certaine men in harneys, & sent word before,  
he was come thither from the king. But when  
such as stood at the tent doore saw armed men  
coming, supposing their errand had bene to  
murther

of Quintus Curtius.

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murther their mistresses, ran into them, & cry-  
ed out that their last howe was come, for the  
men were at hand that were sent to kill them.  
The seruants therefore that neither durst let  
Leonatus in, nor keepe him out, brought him  
no answer, but remained quietly to see what he  
would do. When Leonatus had long tarried  
at the doore, & saw none came forth to call him  
in, left his men without, & entered amongst the  
women. Whose comming vnto them before he  
was admitted, was the thing that feared them  
most of al. The mother therfore & wife of Da-  
rius fell downe at his feete, requiring him that  
before they were slaine, he would suffer them  
to burie Darius after his countrey manner:  
which last obseruance performed, they were  
content (they said) gladly to suffer death. Leo-  
natus assured them that both Darius was a  
liue, & that there was no harme towards them,  
but should remaine in the same estate they  
were in before. When Sisigambis heard those  
words, she suffered her selfe to be lift vp from  
the ground, and to receiue some comfort. The  
next day Alexander with great diligence, bu-  
ried the bodies of such of his own men as could  
bee founde, and willed the same to bee done to  
the noble men of the Persians, giuing licence to  
Darius mother to burie so many as she lyst,  
after the custome of her countrey. She per-  
formed

F iii.

The thirde booke supplied  
fourmed the same to a few that were nexte of  
her kinne, according to the habilitie of her pre-  
sent fortune, for if she should haue vsed þe Per-  
sians poimp therein, the Macedons might haue  
entred it, which being victors vsed no great  
curiositie in the matter. When the due was  
perfourmed to the dead, Alexander signified  
to the women prisoners, þe hee himselſe would  
come to visit them, and causing such as came  
with him to tary without, he only with Ephe-  
stion entred in amongst them. The same E-  
phestion of all men was most deare vnto A-  
lexander, brought vp in his company from  
his youth, & most priuie with him in all things.  
There was none that had such libertie to speak  
his mind plainly to the king as hee had, which  
he vsed after such sort, that he seemed to doe it  
by no authoritie, but by sufferance. And as hee  
was of like yeares vnto him, so in shape and  
personage hee did somewhat excell him: where-  
fore the women thinking Ephestion to be the  
king, did fall down and worship him (as their  
countrey manner was to doo to kings) till such  
time as one of the Eunukes that was taken  
prisoner, shewed which of them was Alex-  
ander. Then Sisigambis fell down at his feet  
requiring pardon for her ignorance, for so much  
as shee did neuer see him before. The king took  
her vp by the hand, and said, mother you be not  
deceiued

of Quintus Curtius. 41  
deceiued, for this is Alexander also. Which  
his humilitie and continencie of mind if hee had  
continually obserued to his latter daies, hee  
might haue been thought much more happier  
then he was, when that he hauing subdued all  
Asia from Hellespont to the Ocean Sea, did  
counterfait the triumphs of Bacchus. Or if þe  
amongst the rest of his conquests, hee would  
haue laboured to conquer his pride and his ire,  
being vices inuincible. Or if in his drunken-  
nes hee would haue abstained from the slaugh-  
ter of his nobilitie, and not to haue put to death  
those excellent men of war without iudgement  
which helped him to conquere so many Naci-  
ons: But at this time the greatnes of his for-  
tune had not yet altered his nature, though  
afterwardes hee could not beare his victories  
with that vertue hee did win them. Then hee  
behaued himselſe after such a maner, that hee  
exceeded in continencie and compassion, all the  
kings that had been before his time. He en-  
tertained the 2. Queenes with those Virgins  
that were of excellent beautie so reuerently, as  
if they had been his sisters. Hee not only abstat-  
ned from all violacion of Darius wife, whiche  
in beautie excelled all the women of her time,  
but also tooke great care and diligence, that  
none other should procure her to anie disho-  
nour. And to all the women hee commaunded  
their

The third Booke supplied  
 whiles the state of the Persians stood in that  
 incredible height of fortune, one part to be torn  
 with bushes, and another drowned in the mire,  
 it being so great besides, that the hands of the  
 spoilers could not suffice for the spoile. When  
 the hostmen had ouertaken them that fled, first  
 they found diuers women carping of the small  
 children, amongst whom ther were four Vir-  
 gins, the daughters of Occhus, that reigned  
 next before Darius. They before þ time had  
 suffered change of fortune, when the state was  
 altered from their fathers line. But this aduer-  
 sitie was muche more greuous vnto them.  
 There was in this flocke the wife of Occhus,  
 the daughter of Oxatrix þ was Darius bro-  
 ther, and the wife of Artabasus which was of  
 the head house of Persia, with his Sonne also  
 called Ilionesus. The Wife and the sonne of  
 Farnabasus were also taken, to whom Dari-  
 us had committed þ charge of all the sea coasts  
 and with them the three daughters of Men-  
 tor, the wife and the son of the noble Captain  
 Memnon. There was scarcely any house of  
 the nobilitie of Persie free from that euill ad-  
 uenture. There were both Lacedemonians &  
 Athenians, þ contrarie to the league betweene  
 Alexander and them, tooke Darius part: a-  
 mongest the Athenians Aristogiton, Dropi-  
 des, and Leuertes were of most notable fame  
 and

of Quintus Curtius, 44  
 and Image. And of the Lacedemonians þ chie-  
 fest were Perisippus and Onomastorides  
 with Omamys and Callicratides. The sum  
 of the coined money there taken, was 2. thou-  
 sand and sixtie talents, and of massy siluer five  
 hundred talents. Beside thirtie thousand men,  
 and seuen thousand beasts that carried burdē  
 on their backes. But the Gods did persecute  
 with due punishment þ betrayer of such a trea-  
 sure. For one whom he had made priue to the  
 matter, pitying therein the estate of his Prince,  
 did slay the traitor, and brought his head to  
 Darius. A comforte not vnapt for the time to  
 the betraied king: for thereby he was both re-  
 uenged of his enemy, and perceiued that  
 the memorie due vnto his estate,  
 was not growen out of all  
 mens hearts.



### The third Booke supplied

their ornaments and apparel to be restored. So that they wanted nothing of the magnificence of their former estate, saving onely the assured confidence that Creatures wante in miserie. Which things considered by Sisygambis, shee said vnto the king. Sir, your goodnes towards vs doth deserue, that we should make the same prayer for you, that we did sometime for Darius, & we perceiue you worthy to passe so great a thing as he was in felicitie, and good fortune, that abound so in Iustice and clemencie. You vouchsafe to call mee by the name of Mother and of Queene, but I confesse my selfe to bee your handmaide. For both I conceaue the greatnesse of my estate past, and feele that I can beare this present seruitude. It lyeth only in your hands how we shall be dealt withall, & whether you will make vs notable to this world, through your clemency or cruelty. The king comforted them all the night, and willing them to be of good cheare, tooke Darius son in his armes. Thereat the child was nothing afraid, hauing neuer seen him before, but tooke & embraced him about the neck. He was so moued in the fancy of this child, that he beheld Ephestion and himselfe: oh I would that Darius had had some part of this gentle disposition. When he was departed from thence, he caused three altars to be made vpon this riuer of Piramus,

and

### of Quintus Curtius.

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and there did sacrifice to Iupiter. Hercules, and Minerva, and so went forwards into Siria. He sent Parmenio before to Damasco, wheras Darius treasure did remain: who vnderstanding by the way that Darius had sent one of his nobles thither, fearing that for the smalnes of his owne number the Damascens would kepe him out, determined to send for a greater power. But by chance one Mardus fell into the hands of the horsemen that he had sent before to scowre this countrey, which being brought before Parmenio, deliuered him the letters which the captaine of Damasco had sent to Alexander, & besides these letters, added of himselfe, that he doubted not but all Darius riches and his treasure should be deliuered to him at his arriual. Parmenio gaue the charge to certaine of his men for his sure keeping, and then opened these letters, wherein, it was contained that Alexander in all hast should send one of his captains thither with a small power. Which thing known, he sent Mardus back againe to Damasco, with certaine to accompany him: but he escaped out of their hands, and came to Damasco before day light. That thing troubled greatly Parmenio, doubting that his enemies had laid some ambushment for him, & therefore durst not go an vnknowen way without a guide. Yet notwithstanding, vpon the confidence

hee



## The 4. Booke of Quintus

Curtius, of the acts of *Alexander the Great King of Macedon.*

**D**arius whiche a little before was Lord of so greate an army, and that came vnto the field, caried aloft vppon his Chariot, more like to triumph then to fight: fled by the places then wast and desart, which he before had filled with his infinit numbers of men of war. There were but few that followed him: For neither they fled all one way, nor such as followed coulde keepe pace with him that so often changed horses. At length he came to Vnchas where he was receiued of foure *G.* Greekes, which conducted him to the riuer of Euphrates, thinking all such his countries to bee lost, in the which he coulde not preuent Alexander by hast making. Parmenio was appointed gouernour of Siria, and to be the keeper of the treasure and prisoners which he tooke at Damascus. The Sirians coulde not at first heare the new gouernment, because they had not yet felt the scourge of the warres, but as they re-

of Quintus Curtius.

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uolten, they were straight way subdued, performing all that they were appointed to do. The Isle of Arade was yeelded to Alexander, wherof Strato was King, that had in subiection all the sea coast, with diuers of the Island countries, who submitting himself, Alexander, remoued to the City of Marathō. There he receiued letters from Darius, that put him in great cholor, because they were so arrogantly written. The special point that moued Alexander, was for that Darius writing himselfe king, did not vouchsafe to geue him that title, but did write rather by way of commendement then of request, profering for the ransom some of his wife and children, so much money as Macedon coulde receiue. For the superiortie (he said) hee put it to his choise, to trie it by the sword if he list. But if he would be better aduised, hee willed him to be content with his owne enheritance, and so he would ioine in amitie with him, & become his friend, in which point hee was ready to enter into treaty. Alexander did write to him againe after this manner:

Darius whose name thou hast vsurped, did great destruction vppon the Greekes inhabiting on the coast of Hellespont, and vppon the Ionians, which be Greeke Cities passing from thence the sea with a great army to make warre against Greece and Macedon. And also King Xerxes thy predecesour

G

came

came to subdue vs with infinite numbers, which being vanquished in a battaile on the Sea, left notwithstanding Mardonius behinde him in Greece, to destroy their Cities and burne their Countries. It is manifest besides, that Philip my Father was slaine by such as were corrupted thereunto with your money. Yee vndertake alwaies vniust warres, and occupying armes, goe about for all that to circumuent men with treason. As thou of late, hauing such number of men in thyne armye, didst procure my death with the promise of a thousand Talents. I am not therefore the beginner of the warres, but repulse such iniuries as be proffered mee. In doing whereof through the helpe of the Gods (which fauour alway the right) haue brought the more part of Asia vnder my subiection: and hauing overcome thee in battaile by force of armes, ther is no cause that I should grant thee any thinge, which hast not obserued towards mee the law of armes, yet if thou wilt come and submit thy self, I promise thee that I will deliuer both thy mother, wyfe, and children: for both I knowe how to get the victory, and how to vse such as I ouercome, but if thou fearest to commit thy selfe to vs. I will geue thee safe conduit to come freely. In the rest when thou writest vnto mee, remember that thou writest not only to a Kinge, but also vnto him that is thy Kinge.

He sent this letter by Therisippus, and went from thence into Phenicia, where the Citie of Biblon was yeelded vnto him: and so came vnto Sydon, which was a Citie of great nobilitie, by reason of the antiquitie and fame of the builders. The same was vnder Stratos Dominion, supported by the power of Darius,

who yeelding more by the constraint of the people, then of his own goodwil, was thought vniworthy to reigne there. Alexander made a grant to Ephestion that hee shoulde make such one king, whom the Sidon thought most worthy that estate. There were diuers noble yonge men in that Citie that had familiaritie with Ephestio, of whom he purposed to haue chosen one King: but they refused his offer: affirming that none might enioy that dignity, except, hee were descended of the blood royall. Ephestion wondered at the magnanimitie that was in them, in despising the thing which other sought for by sword and fire, and therefore said: continue you still in that vertuous mind, which be the first that haue vnderstanding, how much better it is to refuse then to receiue a kingdome. Choose you therefore such one of the blood royall, that may remember hee hath receiued the rule at your hands. But when they saw diuers gaping for it, and for the greedines they had to reigne, fel to flattering of such as were neere about Alexander resolved y there was none more meet for that dignitie, then one Abdolominus, who being of y ancient blood of the kings, for poverty was enforced to dwell in a small grange without the Citie. His honesty was the cause of his povertye (as it is to many other) and being

The third booke supplied  
little force, and without any head. He shewed  
how the Egyptians vsed to rebel against their  
gouernors, wherefore they were sure to be re-  
ceiued as friends. For since necessity (god be)  
hath enforced vs to proue our fortunes, which  
failing vs in our first hope we must now thinke  
that things to come shall bee much better then  
our present estate. They all agreed with one  
voice, that he should lead them where he list.  
Whereupon thinking good not to pretermite  
the occasion whiles the hope was hot in their  
harts, conueied them into Egypt, & entred the  
hauen at Pelusium, vnder pretence that he had  
bin sent thither by Darius. When he had gotten  
Pelusiu, he set forwards towards Mem-  
phis, at y<sup>e</sup> same of whose coming the Egyp-  
tians being a light nacion & more apt to make  
a stir then to maintaine it when it is once be-  
gon, ran to him out of all towns and villages,  
with intent to destroy all the Persians. But  
they notwithstanding y<sup>e</sup> feare they were in, did  
not leaue y<sup>e</sup> defence of the countrey, but fought  
with the Greekes, and were put to flight. Af-  
ter that victory Amintas besieged Memphis,  
and his men destroyed so al the countrey ther-  
abouts, y<sup>e</sup> they left nothing vnspoiled. Where-  
vpon Mazeches, though hee perceiued his  
souldiers much amazed with the feare of their  
late ouerthrow, yet when he saw his enemies  
scattered

of Quintus Curtius. 50  
scattered abroad and without order, for y<sup>e</sup> pride  
they had conceiued of their victory: at length  
perswaded his men to issue out of the Citie, &  
in setting vpon their enemies, recouer againe  
that they had lost. Which aduise being good  
of it selfe, by good handeling tooke most fortu-  
nate successe. For they slew at time both A-  
myntas and all his company. This punish-  
ment he suffered for the offence committed to  
both Princes, being neither faithfull to Alex-  
ander whom hee forsooke, nor to Darius to  
whom he fled. Darius Captaines which esca-  
ped from the battaile at Isson, gathering to-  
gether such men as were scattered abroad, and  
such power beside as they could leue in Capa-  
doce & Paphlagonia, did attempt to recouer a-  
gaine the countrey of Lidia. Antigonus was  
gouernour for Alexander there, who notwith-  
standing that he had taken many souldiers out  
of the guarisons to send vnto Alexander: yet  
he so litle esteemed his enemies, that he doub-  
ted not to aduenture the battaile. The Persians  
receiued there the like Fortune they did in o-  
ther places: which attempting the fight in  
thre sundry Countries, were vanquished in  
them all. At y<sup>e</sup> same time y<sup>e</sup> name of y<sup>e</sup> Macedons  
which Alexander had sent for out of Greece,  
meeting Aristomenes (whom Darius had ap-  
pointed to make war vpon y<sup>e</sup> coast of Ipelespo)

The third booke supplied  
tooke and drowned all his ships. Farnabazus,  
Darius admirall, hauing exacted money at  
Milesum, and set a guarison in Scio, passed  
into the Isle of Andros with a hundred ships.  
And from thence he went to Siphnus, and  
putting men of Warre into all the Islands, ex-  
acted of them money. The greatnes of the  
warre that was in hand betweene two of the  
most puissant princes of Asia and Europe, did  
drawe both Greece and Creete to armes.  
Agis the king of Lacedemon gathered toge-  
ther viii. thousand Greekes that were come  
home out of Cilicia, and mooued war to An-  
tipater, that was gouernour of Macedon. The  
Cretians following sometime one parte, and  
sometime another, receiued one while guar-  
ison of Macedons, & another while of Lacede-  
monions, to lie amongst them. But those wars  
were of no great importance. For all mens eyes  
were fixed vpon the warres that were in be-  
tweene Alexander and Darius, whereup-  
on all the rest did depend. The Macedons had  
subdued all Siria and Phenices, Tirc onely  
except, which being the greatest and most no-  
table citie of all that countrey, shewed that  
they esteemed themselves worthe rather to  
iointure with Alexander as freends, then to be-  
come his subiects. For when hee was come  
nere vnto them, and encamped vpon the maine  
land,

of Quintus Curtius. 51  
land, which is deuised from their citie with a  
small arme of the sea: They sent to him by their  
Embassadors a crowne of Gold for a present,  
with great plenty besides of victuals for his ar-  
mie. He receiued their gifts, as fro his friends,  
& gaue gentle answers vnto the embassadors:  
but he shewed himself much desirous to make  
sacrifice vnto Hercules (whom the Citians  
speciallie worshipped, and the Macedon kings  
supposed themselves to be descended of him) be-  
ing admonished therunto (as he said) by an O-  
racle. The embassadors made answer: y there  
was a temple of Hercules without their citie in  
the place which they call *Phaletiron*, where as  
he might do sacrifice at his pleasure. At those  
words Alex. could not refraine his yre, where-  
vnto he was much subiect, but fell in a rage:

I perceiue now (quod he) because ye dwell in an  
Iland, ye trust so much in the situation of your cit-  
tie that ye despise my land power. But I will shortly  
do you to vnderstand, that ye dwell vpon the maine  
land, and bring you in such case, as your land shall  
not helpe you, and therefore trust to it, that if ye  
receiue me not in, I will enter by force.

When the Embassadors were dismissed with  
this answer, such as were neare about the  
king, perswaded them that they should not ex-  
clude him, whom all Siria and Phenices had  
receiued. But they had conceiued such a con-  
fidence for that their Citie stood in the Sea,  
deuised

The third Booke supplied  
as a token of good fortune towards themselves,  
and as a signification of destruction towards  
their enemies. A like thing was seene among  
the Macedons. For when a certaine Souldier  
was breaking of his bread, drops of bloud ap-  
peared therein. Whereat Alexander being  
astonied, Aristander that was most cunning  
of all the diuiners of their religion, did inter-  
prete thus the matter. If the Bloud had ap-  
peared outwardlie, then it had signified euill  
fortune to the Macedons, but in as much as it  
was found within, it betokenned destruction  
to the Citie they went about to get. Alexan-  
der considering his nauie to bee far from him,  
and that a long siege should bee great impedi-  
ment to his other affaires, sent Officers of  
armes vnto the Citie to perswade them vnto  
peace, whom the Tirians against the lawe of  
Nations did browne in the sea. Their vniust  
death stirred Alexander so much, that hee  
then vtterly determined to goe forwards with  
the siege. But before hee could make his ap-  
proche, it was of necessitie for him to make a  
Pere or a Hole, whereby they might passe frō  
the maine land to the citie. But in the making  
thereof there entred greate dispaire into all  
mens heartes considering the deepnes of the  
Sea, which they saw not possible to be filled  
scarcelie by anie Diuine power. For they  
thought

of Quintus Curtius.

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thought no stones so great, no Trees so high,  
nor anie countrie to haue such plentie as might  
suffice for the building of a banke in such a place  
considering the sea remained alwaies troubled.  
And the narrower the place was between the  
Citie and the land, so much more greater was  
the rage. But Alexander that had the waie  
to allure his souldiers to what effect him plea-  
sed, declared how that Hercules appeared  
vnto him in his sleepe and gaue him his hand,  
profering to be his captaine and his guide for  
the entrance of the Citie. Thereunto he added  
the killing of his Embassadors, whereby they  
had vtolated and broken the lawe that all naci-  
ons obserued, and that there remained but  
onelie one citie which staied his victorie. Ther-  
vpon he deuised the worke amongst his Cap-  
taines, that euerie one might applie his owne  
band, and so put the worke in vze, when he had  
once sufficientlie encouraged his men. There  
were great plentie of stones at hande of the  
mines of the olde citie where Tire stood before,  
and for the making of boats and towers Timber  
was brought from the Mounte Libanus.  
The worke did grow from the bottome of the  
Sea like a mountaine, but not yet brought to  
the high water marke. And the further the Pere  
was brought from the land vnto the seaward,  
so much the sooner the Sea did swallow by the  
sub-

The third Booke supplied  
substance of thinges, whereof the same was  
made. Whiles þ Macedons were thus about  
their worke, the Tirians woulde come about  
them in small vessels, and geue them wordes  
of reproch and scoone: as they were now be-  
come goodly men of war, that would bee made  
pyoners, & carrie burdens like beastes vpon  
their backs. And they asked them also if they  
thought Alexander to bee greater then the  
God of the sea. But their reproofe did not hin-  
der but encrease the chierfulnes of the souldi-  
ers in their paine and trauell. In so much the  
Mole in a short space surmounted aboue the  
water & encreasing much in bredth, approached  
neare vnto the citie. Then the Tirians seeing  
the hugenes of the work, in the increase wher-  
of they sawe themselves disceined, litle thin-  
king that it would haue growen to such passe,  
in little vessels came rowing about the Þere,  
and did vniue the souldiers with shot from their  
working, and because it lay in them to bring  
their Boats sodainly forwarde, and retorne  
soone againe, they hurt many of the Mace-  
dons without any daunger to themselves,  
enforcing them to leaue their worke, and fall  
to their owne defence. For remedy whereof,  
and to auoid their enemies shotte, they were  
compelled to stretch out beastes skinnes vpon  
poles like sailes, and set those betweene them  
and

of Quintus Curtius. 54  
and their Enemies. And besides at the head  
of the Þere, they raised by two Towers from  
whence with shot and casting of Darts, they  
kept of the boats that came about them. On  
the other side the Tirians would land with  
their Boats far out of the sight of the campe,  
and kill suche as were carrying of Stones.  
The Peasantes besides of Arabie did set  
vpon certaine Macedons that were scat-  
tered abroad in the Mounte Libanus, where  
they slew & tooke diuers. That was one cause  
which moued Alexander, to deuise his  
Armie. And lest hee might seeme to remaine  
idly about the siege of one Citie, hee appoin-  
ted Perdicas and Craterus to take the  
charge of the worke he had in hand, and went  
into Arabia with such part of his power mooste  
apt for his purpose. In the mean season the  
Tyrians prepared a greate Ship laden with  
stones and grauell behinde, so that the fore-  
part floted aboue the water, which ships an-  
ointed ouer with pitche and bymstone, they  
brought sodainly by sayling and force of ores  
vnto the Þere, and there remaining, the Ma-  
riners set the ship on fire, and then leaped into  
the Boates which followed after for the pur-  
pose. The shippe thus set on fire so enflamed  
the wood-worke pertaining to the Þere, that  
before any rescue could come, þ fire had taken  
the

The third Booke supplied  
the towers of the *Perre*, and all the rest of the  
worke that were made in the head. When they  
that were leaped into the boats, saw the mat-  
ter take such effect, they put betwixt the tim-  
ber and other void places, both firebrands, &  
all such things as might giue nourishment  
and encrease to the fire: so that the towers and  
all the rest being on a flame, manie of the *Ma-  
cedons* were consumed therewith, and the rest  
forsooke their armour and threw themselues  
into the sea. Then the *Tirians* that were more  
desirous to take them on liue, to kill them with  
flaues & stones, did so beate them on the hands  
as they were swimming, that for wearinesse  
they were glad to be taken vp into their boats.  
The whole worke was not consumed with fire  
onely. For it chanced also the same day a ter-  
rible Winde to rise, which blowing out of the  
Sea, brought the waues with such violence  
vpon the Mole, that with often beating of the  
Seas, the ioynts that knit the work together,  
began to lose and leaue their hold. Then the  
Water that washed through, brake down the  
Mole in the middes, so þ the heapes of stones  
which were before sustained by the timber and  
earth cast betwixt them once broken a sunder,  
the whole worke fell to ruine, and was caried  
away into the deep Sea. By that time Alex-  
ander was returned out of Arabie, & scarcely  
found

of Quintus Curtius. 48  
founde any remaine or token, that any such  
worke had been. In that case (as it is euer v-  
sed in things that chaunce euill) one laid the  
fault vpon another, when indeede the violence  
of the Sea was the cause of all. Alexander  
began to make the *Perre* againe after a newe  
sort, the head therof lying into the wether and  
the wind, and not the open side as it did before:  
So that the fore front alwaies defended the  
rest of the worke lying behind. He encreased  
also the breadth therof, to the intent the towers  
might bee builded in the midst of the *Perre*,  
whereby they should be least subiect to the *C-  
nemies* shot. Whole trees were put into the  
Sea with their toppes and braunches, and af-  
ter great stones throwne vpon them. And ouer  
those a new course of trees and stone againe,  
by which deuice this whole worke was ioyned  
and knit all in one. As the *Macedons* were bu-  
sie to bring their worke forwards, so the *Ti-  
rians* were as diligēt to inuent all such things,  
as might giue impedimēt to their proceeding.  
Their cheefe practise was for a number of  
them to enter into the sea a farre of out of the  
*Macedons* sight, and so come dying vnder  
the water till they came vnto the *Perre*, where  
with hookes they would pull vnto them the  
braunches of the trees that appeared out of  
the stones, whereby the stones and the other  
sub-

The fourth booke supplied  
substance followed after into the deepe. For  
the trees being discharged of their burden  
were easily drawne away, and then the founda-  
tion fayling, the whole worke that stayed  
vpon the trees fell to ruine. Amongst these  
impediments Alexander stood in great per-  
plexitie of minde, doubting whether he should  
continue the siege still, or els depart his way.  
When he was in this imagination, sodeinly  
his nauie arriued from Cypres, and Cleander  
also with such souldiers as he had brought out  
of Grece. And hauing to the number of C.  
lxxx. ships, deuided them into two battels,  
whereof he committed the one vnto Pytha-  
goras the king of Cypres, and to Craterus,  
and tooke charge of the other himselke, com-  
mitting his owne person in a Galley called  
Cynaquereme, which had fise Dares on a  
banke. The Tirians durst not aduenture  
the sea fight although they had a great nauie,  
but set all their Galleys in a front before the  
walles of their cittie, which the king assailed  
and put to distresse. The next day the Mace-  
dons with their shippes enuironed the Cittie  
round about, and did beate downe the walles,  
specially with such Engins as they call Arie-  
tes. But the Tirians streight way rensforced  
and made vp their walles againe with stones  
that laye at hand, and raised vp an inward  
wall

of Quintus Curtius. 56

wall round about within the Cittie, which  
might be their defence if the other fayled.  
But the destruction approached on euery  
side, the Hole was wrought within the cast  
of a dart, and the ships gaue the approach  
round about the walles, so that they were o-  
uerlaid both by Sea and by land. The Ma-  
cedons had deuised to ioyne thei galleys two  
and two together, in such sort that the fore-  
parts met close before, and the hinder parts  
lay farre of one from the other. And ouer the  
spaces remaining betwixt puppe and puppe,  
they made bridges with masts & maine yards  
laid betwixt Galey and Galey fast bound to-  
gether to carry souldiours vpon. When they  
had put their Galleys in this order, they set  
forwards towards the Cittie. And hauing  
rampired the proes for defence of the souldi-  
ers that were behinde, they stood in their Gal-  
leys and did shoot and cast darts against their  
enimies without any perill or danger to them-  
selues. It was midnight when they had com-  
maundement to set forwards after the man-  
ner. As the ships were approaching on al parts  
and the Tirians stood astonied for feare and  
desperation: sodainly the Sky was ouer-  
whelmed with dimme clowdes, and sodaine  
darknes tooke away the light. Then the Sea  
by little and litle waxed terrible and rough.

The fourth booke supplied  
the winde blew rasing by the waues, and  
did beate the ships one against another: the  
violence whereof burst a sunder the bands and  
graspers wherewith the galyes were fastened  
together. Which done the bridges crashed &  
flew a sunder, and with the Souldiers that  
stood vpon them fell into the sea. There was  
great confusion, for the ships entangled thus  
together, could by no meanes be gouerned in  
such a tempest, the Souldiers disturbing the  
feate of the mariners, and the mariners giuing  
impediment to the office of the Souldiers.  
Thus (as it doth often happen in such case) the  
expert were obedient to the ignorant, for the  
ship masters that were wont to commaund:  
then for feare of death were directed by other.  
But at length by force of rowing the Galeys  
recovered the shore, the more part of them be-  
ing broken and torne. It chaunced at the same  
time xxx. Embassadors to come from Car-  
thage to Tyre, who gaue more comfort then  
assistaunce to them that were besieged. For  
they shewed how the Carthagens were so as-  
sailed with warre at their owne doores, that  
they could by no meanes send them succour.  
In so much as the Syraculans were burning  
in Aphrike, and had encamped themselves vn-  
der the very walles of Carthage. The Tyri-  
ans yet were not discomfited, for all that they  
were

of Quintus Curtius. 50  
were disapointed of their speciall trust, but de-  
liuered vnto those Embassadors their wiues  
and their children to carrie vnto Carthage,  
thinking to endure more stoutly the siege, if  
the things which were most deare vnto them  
were remooued out of daunger. There was a  
Tyrian which in an open assembly declared  
that Appollo (whom the Tyrians greatly doe  
worship) had appeared to him in his sleep, see-  
ming to him that he had forsaken the Cittie,  
and transformed the Hole that the Macedons  
had made into a great wood. Herevpon though  
the author were of small credit, yet forasmuch  
as men in feare be apt to beleue the worst,  
they tyed Apollos Image with a Golden  
chaine, and bound fast also the aulter of Her-  
cules (to whom the Citie was dedicat) think-  
ing by deteining of the one, to keepe still the  
other. The Carthagens in times past had  
brought that Image from Siracuse, and had  
placed it in the head Cittie, out of the which  
they were descended. For theyr custome was  
to adorne Tyre with such spoiles as they had  
taken, no lesse then they did Carthage it selfe.  
They at that time would also haue beene au-  
thors vnto the Tyrians for the reuiving of an  
old sacrifice that had bin omitted many years,  
wherein they vsed to offer vp to Saturne a  
free boine child. Which being rather a sacri-  
ledge

The fourth booke supplied  
parties, the Macedons interpreting the same  
to be sent them as a guide for their direction,  
to furnish out the worke, and the Tyrians di-  
uining that Neptune in reuenging the usur-  
pation that the Macedons had made vpon the  
Sea would shortly destroy the worke that  
they had made, in such like sort as he had ta-  
ken away the monstre. They vpon their owne  
imagination, conceiued such a gladnesse, and  
prognosticated to themselves such good for-  
tune, that they fell to banqueting and drink-  
ing. And when they weare well charged with  
wine, at the sunne rising they set Garlands  
of flowers vpon their heads, and mounted in-  
to Gallies, not onely with hope of victorie, but  
with a triumphe made before hand. It chan-  
ced at the same time that Alexander had  
conueyed his nauie to the contrarie side of the  
Citie, & left vpon the shore thirtie of the smal-  
lest vessels, of the which the Tyrians caught  
two, and put the rest in danger of distressing,  
vntil such time as the King hearing þe alarme,  
set forwards with his nauie towards that part  
where the skry was heard. The first Galley of  
the Macedons that came neere them was a  
quinquereme, the swiftest of all the rest, which  
when the Tyrians espied, they came against  
her with 2. Gallies trasse vpon her side: wher-  
of the one strake full with her Spurne, with  
whom

of Quintus Curtius. 25  
whom the cynquereme grasped and the o-  
ther which was loose and libertie fell vpon her  
contrarie side. But lest betweene them two  
she might susteine some damage, one of A-  
lexanders Tryemes came to the rescue with  
such violence, that the master of the lose Gal-  
ley was stricken into the sea. When the Tyri-  
ans saw that Alexander was come himselfe,  
& more of his ships at hand, then with strength  
of ores and great difficulcy, they set their Gal-  
ley that was entangled, lose againe and at li-  
berty, making towards their hauen with all  
the hast they might. Alexander immediatly  
pursued them, but when he came to the hauen  
he could not enter, but was beaten of with  
shot from the walles, yet he did take & drowne  
the more part of their Gallies. After this ad-  
uenture he rested his souldiers two daies, and  
then willed his ships to be brought forwards &  
the engines in them, to the intent that by assai-  
ling the Tyrians on all sides, he might put the  
in extreame feare. Alexander with a wonder-  
ful courage not without great peril of his per-  
son mounted vpon the top of a tower that was  
made in a ship, & there knowne by his apparel  
and rich armor, was chiefly laid at, and shot to  
from all parts. He wrought wonderfull feates  
with his own person, for both with his pike he  
slew others that stood at defence, & afterwards  
fought

The fourth Booke supplied  
fought hande to hande with his Sworde and  
Target, throwing diuers downe from their  
defence, for the Tower wherein he fought  
joynd hard to the walles. By that time the  
Engins called *Arietes* with much beating  
had striken downe the Walles, the nauie was  
got within the Haven, and certain of the Ma-  
cedons had won the Towers. The Tyrians  
then oppressed with so many miseries at once  
were cleane discomfited: some fled for succour  
vnto the temples, some did shut their doores,  
taking that kind of death they liked best. And  
other ran vpon their enemies to sel their liues  
deere. But the more part got vpon the tops  
of their houses, & from thence did cast downe  
vpon their enemies whatsoever came vnto  
their hands. Alexander commaunded all to  
be slain without exception, sauing such as fled  
into the temples, & willed the houses to be set  
on fier. Though y were proclaimed through  
the citie, yet there was none bearing armour  
that would saue themselves that way: for as y  
women and children filled the temples, so the  
men kept the entries of their houses, ready to  
abide y crueltie of their enemies. Yet the Si-  
donians were the occasiō that many were sa-  
ued, who seruing in the warres against y Ma-  
cedons, and entring the Citie with the rest,  
were mindfull of their affinity with the Tiri-  
ans

ans (Agenor being builder of both their Ci-  
ties) & conueyed many into their ships, which  
they sent priuily vnto Sidon. By y means fif-  
teen thousand escaped the cruelty of y sworde.  
The number of them that were slaine may  
partly be coniectured, in y there were founde  
dead within the Citie sixe thousand of such as  
bare armour. The kings wrath towards the  
Citie made the sight dolorous vnto the victo-  
rers. For two thousand whom the fury of the  
slaughter had left aliue were afterwards han-  
ged vpon crosses along y sea coast. The Em-  
bassadors of the Carthagens were saued, but  
they thretned to make war against them, from  
the which he was then letted by other busines  
he had in hand. Thus Tyre was taken the 7.  
moneth after it was besieged, a Citie notable  
to the posteritie, as well through the antiqui-  
ty it was of, as also by y often change of For-  
tune that it had suffered. It was builded by  
Agenor & many yeares was maister of y seas  
not only neer ther about, but in al places wher  
as their nauies came: & if we list to credit the  
fame, y Citie was the first whi. heither taught  
or learned letters. They builded Citizs & put  
in the inhabitants throughout y more parts of  
y world, both Carthago in Africk, Thebes in  
Boetia, & Gades in Spain vpon y Occā. It is  
to be thought that by reason of their freecourse  
through

The fourth Booke supplied  
through all seas, and by visiting many strange  
Countrie, they had occasion to choose out  
Seates to place in their youth, whereof they  
then habounded. Or else as some write the in-  
habitours worted to dwell there by reason of  
many earthquakes, were compelled of force to  
seeke out strange dwelling places. But after  
manie casualties that happened vnto Tyre, af-  
ter the destruction newlye renewed, and all  
things growen againe through long peace re-  
maineth now vnder y<sup>e</sup> defence of the Romaines  
clemency. About the same time Alexander  
receiued letters from Darius, wherein at last  
he was contented to name him King.

His request was that Alexander would receiue  
his daughter Sapteyne for his wife, with whom he  
offered in dower all the Countrey betweene He-  
lespont and the riuer of Alys, and woulde reserue  
vnto himselfe onely such kingdomes as lay from  
thence, East ward. And if peradventure he should  
sticke to receiue this offer, he willed him to consi-  
der that fortune is not wont to continue longe in  
one estate, and that the greater felicity men haue,  
the greater enuie doth follow them. It was to bee  
doubted (hee sayd) least hee exalted himselfe thro-  
rough some vayne and childishe affection, lyke as  
byrdes vse to doe, whose naturall lightnes conuey  
them to the Starres. For there was nothing more  
difficult in so yong yeares, then to beare well such  
height and greatnes of Fortune. Hee willed hym  
also to consider, that there remained yet manie  
countrie that hee had not touched, and that he  
should not alwaies meete him in streights, hauing  
to

to passe the Riuer of Euphrates, Tygre, Araxes, &  
Hydaspes, which were as bulwarkes vnto his Do-  
minion, and when he should come vnto the plains  
he should bee ashamed of his small number. Hee  
put him in remembrance to wey how long it should  
bee or hee could passe Medea Hircania, Bactria, &  
the Indians that bordered on the Ocean Sea. And  
likewise the Sogdians and Arachosians of whom  
men haue none other knowledge then of their  
name, with other Nations lyinge towards the  
mount Caucasus, & the riuer of Tanais. Though  
no man shoulde let him nor offer him battaile, yet  
hee should grow in age (hee said) before he could  
passe so many lands. In the latter end hee aduysed  
him to call hym no more forwards, for hee woulde  
come soone ynough, and that to his destruction.

Alexander made answer to those Letters  
by the messengers that brought them, in effect.

That Darius offered to him that was none of his  
owne, and made a proffer to geue that hee had all  
ready lost. For Lydia, Ionia, Acolides, & the coast  
of Helespont, which he appointed in dower, were  
all ready become the rewardes of his victory. And  
as for lawes and condicions, those were wont to  
be geuen and appointed by the Victours, and re-  
ceiued of such as were ouercome. And if hee were  
ignorant in which of those two estates he were in,  
that hee should come of, and aduenture the bat-  
taile once agayne. For he was not ignorant (hee  
said) before hee passed the Sea how Lydia and Ci-  
licia were ouer small rewardes for the making of  
such a warre. But his determinacion was euer to  
subdue & bring vnder his subiection, both Perce-  
polis the chiefe citie of his kingdome, and also  
Bactria, and Echatania with the vttermoost boundes  
of the Orient. He could flie no where but he was  
able

## The fourth Booke supplied

able to follow: and therefore counselled him that he should leaue to feare him with Riuers, which had learned how to passe Seas.

Thus the Kings did write one to another: and in the meane season the Rhodians yelded their citie and their hauen vnto Alexander, who committed the rule of Cilicia vnto Socrates, and the Countrey about Tyre vnto Philotas. Andromachus was made Parmenio his Deputy in Caele, Syria, from Alexander minding to set forwards to the rest of his iourney, commaunded Ephestion that with his nauie he should saile along the Coast of Phenices, and so hee came with his whole power to the City of Gaza. About the same time there were solempne triumphs & plaies at Isthmios, accustomed, to bee celebrated with the assembly of all Grece. In the counsel (as the wits of the Greeks be sodain) they decreed to send 12. embassadors vnto Alexander for the carrying vnto him a Crowne of golde, in gratifying the victory hee had won, and the actes he had done for the sauegard and liberties of Grece, and yet a little before they harkened how the same went, and were readie to bend that way that fortune enclined. Alexander visited not in person all such countries and cities as refused to do their obedience vnto him, but made conqueste of them by his depu-

of Quintus Curtius.

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deputies. For Cales tooke Paphlagonia, Antigonus Liconia, & Balachrus ouercame Idarne Darius lieutenant, and wan Pileti. Amphitous and Egilochus with a nauy of a 160. ships subdued all the Ilandes betwene Asia and Achaia. And also by the consent of the inhabiteurs got Tenedon, which alwaies was acceptable to the Persians. They were at the point to haue gotten Scio, but Pharnabasus Darius deputie hauing intelliger ce of the matter, did first appzehend all such as were of the Macedons faction, and committed the Citie with a small garrison to Appollonides, and Athenagoras that were enclined to the Persians. Alexanders captains for all this continued the siege of the citie stil, not so much in trust of their own strength, as in hope of the faction they had within the Citie. In which pointe they were not deceived. For through a sedicion which did arise betwene Appollonides and the Captains of the men of Warre, occasion was ministred vnto the Macedons to enter the towne. When the gate was broken vp, and a band of Macedons entered, the Citizens which before had deuised to reuell against the Persians, tooke parte with Amphiterus & Egilocus, so that the garrison of the Persians were slaine & Pharnabasus with Appollonides & Anthenagoras

ces secretes, in the uttering whereof neither  
 feare of death nor hope of rewarde can cause  
 them bring forth a word. This was a goodly  
 discipline that the Kings there had of old time  
 vsed amongst their subiects, in punishing with  
 losse of life the lauishnes of the Young, which  
 is there more greuously chastised then any o-  
 ther crime. Nor ther is not in those parts any  
 goodnes looked for at any mans hands, & hath  
 not the gift of secretnes, wherof nature hath  
 geuen a facility in man. This was the cause  
 & Alexander, was ignorant of all thinges & his  
 enemies did, & therfore continued his siege be-  
 fore Gaza: Betis was captain there, who was  
 a mā of a notable fidelity towards his prince,  
 which with a smal garrison defended the City  
 & was of a large compas: wherfore Alexan-  
 der perceiuing the aduantage of the situation  
 set many mines in hand. For the lightnes of  
 the ground made the worke easie, hauing ne-  
 ther rocks nor stones to giue any impediment.  
 They began their mines on & side, wher they  
 win could not destroy the: & to auoid & suspet-  
 tio of any such work in hand, caused an approach  
 to be made to & walles with towers & hee had  
 made of timber: but & ground would not serue  
 for their carrying and remouing, by reason of  
 the loosenes of the sand, whereinto the wheels  
 sanke, & was the cause that the ioyntes of the  
 towers

of Quintus Curtius. 64  
 towers brake a sunder. About the comelace  
 of them many were hurt, and as much trouble  
 they had in withdrawing of them, as in set-  
 ting them forwards. When he perceiued hee  
 could not preuaile by that means, he retired a-  
 gaine his men for that time. But the next day  
 he enuironed the Citie rounde about to geue  
 the assault in euery part at once, and before he  
 returned out of his campe, made sacrifice af-  
 ter his countrey manner, requiring the aid of  
 the Goddes. It chaunced as he was so doing,  
 that a Rauen flying by let fall a clodde (which  
 she carryed in her claws) vpon the Kings  
 head, where it brake and resolved in pieces:  
 & the Rauen flew vnto the next tower where  
 her fethers were so entangled with Witche at  
 her lighting that she could not flye away, but  
 was taken of the standers thereabouts. This  
 was thought a matter worthy whereuppon  
 the Diuiners should consult. For he himselte  
 was not free from the superstition of such  
 thinges. Therefore Aristander to whom hee  
 gaue most credit, did interpret the same to bee  
 a signe of the destruction of that Citie, but yet  
 there was some perill (he said) appearing to-  
 wards the Kings person: for which cause hee  
 perswaded Alexander & he should not goe a-  
 bout any enterpryse & day. Though it greeued  
 him much that one Citie should be a stay and

The fourth booke supplied  
impediment vnto him for his free paage into  
Egypt, yet he obeyed the prognosticators and  
caused all his men to retye. The Enemies  
tooke courage of their departure thinkinge  
feare to haue berne the cause why they came  
not forwards, sailed out of the cite and sette  
vpon their taile. But they were more fierce in  
the beginning of the skirmish, then constant in  
the maintaining of the same. For when they  
saw the Macedonians turne about, they stayed &  
pursued no further. Alexander hearing the a-  
larne, and remembryng nothing the peril that  
was prophesied vnto hym, at his friendes re-  
quest put on his Harneis (which hee was sel-  
dome accustomed to doe) and resorted thether  
where the skirmish was most hot. There he  
was knowen by a certaine Arabian that was  
one of Darius Souldiers, which tooke vpon  
him a desperat enterpryse to kill Alexander,  
and therefore making his pretence to bee as a  
fugitiue from the Persians, kept his sword se-  
cret vnderneath his target, and fell downe on  
his knees before him. Who iudging that hee  
had fled to him for succour, willed him to bee  
receiued among his owne men. But the Ara-  
bian therewithall strake at the King with his  
sword, which he by a litle stepping aside, a-  
uoided from his throte, and cut of the Arabi-  
ans hand that missed of his stroke. Alexander  
then

of Quintus Curtius. 65  
then iudged that he had cleane escaped the pe-  
rill that should haue chaunced to him that day,  
but (as I thinke) destiny can not be auoyded:  
for whyles hee was eger to fight amongst the  
formost, he was stricken with an arrow, which  
passed through his Corset, and did sticke in  
his shoulder. Philip his Physicion did pluck it  
out, and great aboundance of blood did folow,  
whereof euery man was afraid, for so much  
as they neuer sawe an Arrowe passe so farre  
through any armour before. But hee neuer  
changed countenance nor colour, but caus-  
ing the blood to be stanchd, and his wound to be  
wapt vp, continued still in the Skirmish a-  
mongest the formost, either suffering or dis-  
sembling his paine and dolour. But when the  
blood that was stayed for the time brast out a-  
gaine, and the wound which for the newnes  
griued him not much, began to swell and rā-  
cle as the blood waxed coulo, then hee began  
to faint and fall downe, and was taken vp by  
such as were nexte him, and carried into his  
Tent. Betis that perceiued this, supposing  
him to be slaine, retired vnto the Cite againe  
with great ioy and triumph: but Alexanders  
wound being yet vhealed, he caused a moant  
to bee cast vp as high as the top of the walles,  
and the walles to be cast downe in diuers pla-  
ces by the myners. But they with it made a

The fourth booke supplied  
countermure as high as the old wall: yet that  
could not stretch to the height of the towers  
made vpon the mount, so that the inner partes  
of the Citty were subiect to shot. But a mine  
wherat the wall was ouerthrowen, & a breach  
made wherewith the Macedons did enter, was  
the utter losse of the towne where as Alex-  
ander pressing on amongst the formost aduen-  
turously, had his leg hurt with a stone. That  
notwithstanding, hee mounted vp by helpe of  
his weapon (his former wound yet closed) and  
fought amongst the formost, being in a great  
fury, that in the siege of that one Citie, he had  
receiued two wounds. Betis that had fought  
notably, and receiued diuers hurts, was for-  
saken of his owne men, & yet notwithstanding  
maintained still the fight, and all his armour  
imbued with his own blood and his enemies.  
But when he was enclosed round about, then  
Alexander which was wont to wonder at  
the vertue of his enemies, puffed vp with a  
ioysfull pride, said vnto him: Betis thou shalt  
not die as thou wouldest thy selfe, but whatso-  
euer torments may be invented, thinke þ thou  
shalt suffer them. For all his words their ap-  
peared in Betis no token of feare, but behelde  
the King with an arrogant countenance, and  
would not answer him one word: then Alex-  
ander said: see you not how obstinate he is to  
hold

of Quintus Curtius. 66  
hold his peace: he would not kneele, nor once  
desire mercy. But growning shall breake his si-  
lence, if nothing else can do it. Thus his for-  
tune altering his nature, chaunged him into  
straunge manners, and turned his wrath into  
woodnes. For hee causing cordes to bee put  
througħ Betis feete whilst hee was aliue did  
draw him about the city with horses, glozping  
in that he did counterfaiť Achilles (of whom  
he was descended) in afflicting of his enemy.  
There were slaine of the Persians & Arabians  
10000. & the victory was not vnbloudie to the  
Macedons. This siege was not so famous  
througħ the nobility of the citie, as it was by  
the double danger the King was in: which making  
hast to passe into Egypt, sent Amintas with  
ten Gallies into Macedon to leuie more soul-  
diours. For though he were alwayes victore  
in prosperous battails, yet his men were di-  
minished, and he trusted not so much to þ soul-  
diers of those countries he had subdued, as he  
did to his own nation. Egyptians be a people þ  
alwaies were offended with þ increase of good  
fortune of Persians, who in their gouerne-  
ment ouer them, vsed much pride and coue-  
tousnes. And therfore seeking all occasions to  
reuolt, had receiued Amintas which came to  
the rather by way of treaty then by any force:  
and nowe specially at Alexanders coming

The fourth booke supplied  
plucked by their spirits and assembled a great  
number to meet him at Pelusium, where they  
iudged he would enter. The seuenth day he re-  
moued from Gaza, hee came to that place in  
Egypt, which now is called Alexanders  
campe, from whence he sent his Armie vnto  
Pelusium by the lande way, and he himselte  
with a choyse band of men was conueyed thi-  
ther vppon the riuer of Nile. The Persians  
durst not abide his comming, beeing in doubt  
that the Egyptians would reuolt. And there-  
fore whē Alexander drew neere vnto Mem-  
phis, where Astaces Darius lieutenant was  
with a power of men of warre, he came ouer  
the riuer to meet Alexander, and yelded him-  
selte, deliuered him eight hundred Talentes,  
with all the riches belonging to the Kinge of  
Persie. From Memphis he passed vppon the  
same riuer vnto the inward partes of Egypt,  
and set a stay and ordering the gouernment of  
the Countrey in such sort, that hee chaunged  
nothing of their lawes and customs. Which  
thing once brought to passe, he had a great de-  
sire to visit the Oracle of Iupiter Hammon.  
But it was declared vnto him that the way he  
had to goe was not possible with anye greate  
number, and that those ought to be trimmed,  
meete to iourney without baggage or much  
tariage. The course he had to trauel through  
was

was said to be spred ouer all with barren sand.  
which once put in an heate with the Sunne,  
would burne their feet in such sort, & it shoul-  
d be intollerable for them to iourney. And had  
to content not onely with the heat and want of  
water, but also with the rowling sande, which  
was so deepe, and would so sincke vnder their  
feete, that it should be great impediment vnto  
their trauell. All which difficulties the E-  
gyptians set forth to be greater then they were  
in deed. But Alexander for the desire he had  
to excede mans estate, was so feruently bent  
to visit that famous Oracle of Iupiter, whō  
ether he beleued, or coueted that other shoul-  
d beleue to be his Father, that nothing coul-  
d stay him in performing of that enterprise.  
Therefore with such as he had appointed to ac-  
company him in the iourney, passed by water  
vppon Nile till he came to the Deare of Pro-  
tes. The Embassadors of the Cirenians  
came to him thicher & brought him presents,  
whom he gently entertained, assuring them of  
his friendship: and that done went forwardes  
in his voyage. The first and the second daies  
trauell seemed tollerable, not being yet come  
to the barreyn and wild wildernes, and yet the  
ground they passed on was but unfruitful and  
dead earth. But when the plaines appeared  
that were couered ouer with deepe sand, they  
then

The fourth Booke supplied  
 then looked & sought a far off with their eyes  
 for the land, euen as men be accustomed to do  
 when the saile into the main sea: for they could  
 not iudge themselves on land, where they ne-  
 uer saw tree nor any appearance of habitation  
 or haunt of men. And water ther was none to  
 be found in that drie & burning sand, & such as  
 they had brought with them in bottels vpon  
 camels backes, was consumed and spent. Be-  
 sides the Sunne was so hot that it dried and  
 burned vp all things. When they were afflic-  
 ted after this maner, whether it were by the  
 will of God or by chance, the clowdes sodenly  
 ouerwhelmed the skye, and so shadowed them  
 that it was great comfort to such as were for-  
 wearied with the heate, though they wanted  
 water to drinke. But to supply their lacke  
 therin there fell by & by a great showre which  
 euery man (for the great desire they had to  
 drinke) gaped to receiue with open Mouth:  
 when they had trauelled 4. daies in passing of  
 these wild deserts, and were come neere vnto  
 the place of the oracle, there appeared a great  
 swarme of crows flying low before the troupe  
 and when the host marched softly, they felle  
 downe vpon the ground, and sometime felle  
 forwards, as they had been guydes to shew  
 vnto the army the way. At length they came  
 vnto the place consecrat vnto Iupiter, where  
 as

as it was a wonder to see in the midst of so wild  
 a desert such a grove so environed on all parts  
 with high trees, defending the heat of the sun, &  
 such a number of springs running euery where:  
 which cause the woods alwaies to look green  
 The aire there all seasons of the yeare is like  
 vnto the spring time, wholesome and temperat  
 to liue in. This countrey doth border with the  
 Ethiopes towards the East & vpon the Arabies  
 that they call Troglodites vpon the South:  
 whose countrey stretched to the red sea. It  
 confineth with other Ethiopes that he called  
 Simnos. Towards the North lyeth a nation  
 called Masamons, who inhabiting vpon a  
 flat shore, be accustomed to liue on spoiles of  
 the Sea, and by alwaies in a waite vpon the  
 coast to spoile such ships as suffer wrecke: the  
 people which inhabit about the wood, be cal-  
 led Ammonians, and dwell in cotages scatte-  
 red abroad. The middest of their wood closed  
 about with a triple wall, is vnto them as a ca-  
 stle. In the first ward is the Pallace of their  
 auncient kinges, in the second their wiues,  
 Childzen & concubines were lodged, in which  
 place the Oracle of Iupiter is also. And the  
 third is appointed a place for the men of war.  
 Ther is also another wood hauing in the midst  
 a spring called the Fountaine of the Sun which  
 in the Morning is luke warme, in the heate  
 of

of the day it is cold, and in the evening warme againe: so that at midnight it is scalding hot, and as it draweth towards day it diminisheth his heat more and more. The same thing that is worshipped for Iupiter, hath not the similitude of other Images & craftes men do make for goddes, but is very like vnto the fashion of a naue, hauing in the midst an Emeraude set about with pearles. Whē any answer is required, the Priestes carry the same in a ship of gold that hath many plates of siluer hanging on both sides. The matrons and the Virgins follow after singing a rude song after their countrey maner, whereby they beleue to obtaine of Iupiter to shew his Oracle manifest and true. When Alexander was come vnto the place, the eldest of the Priestes which came to meet him saluted him by the name of Iupiters son: for so (he said) his mind was that he should be called. Whereupon Alexander forgetting the state of his mortality, said: that hee both did receiue and acknowledge the name. Then he demanded further, if the Empire of the whole world were appointed him by destinie. There the Prophet prepared before to flattery, answered: & the whole world should come vnder his obescance. And after that he demanded whether all suche had suffered death that murdered his father. The Priest answered that

that his father could not be harmed by the treason of any man, but he said that all Phillips killers were put to death. And one thing hee added more: that he should bee invincible till such time as he should depart to the goddes. Thereupon Alexander made sacrifice, and both offeren vnto the Idol, and gaue great giftes vnto the Priestes. He lycensed also his friends that they may consult of the Oracle, for such things as they would demand. Yet they enquired no further: if it were Iupiter his will, that they should worship their Kinge with diuers honours. To them it was answered: that if they honoured their Prince being victor as a God, it should be acceptable vnto Iupiter. If he had with iudgement waited the Oracle according to the verity, hee should haue well perceiued the vntuth, that was therein: but whom fortune hath brought to beleue in her, she maketh them many times more desirous of glory, then able to receiue it. Alexander not onely suffered, but also commounded himselfe to be called the sonne of Iupiter: and whilest hee went about to encrease the same of his acts, he did corrupt and deface them through such baine titles. Whereby the Macedons accustomed to be gouerned by Kings, but yet reseruing a greater shadow of liberty then other Nations, did withstand him more

The fourth Booke supplied  
dy to be honourably buried. The death of Andromachus lieutenant of Sirio, whom the Samaritans had burned, was encrease of Alexanders sorrow, for the reuēgement whereof he made all the hast he might, and at his coming into Samaria, had the authors of the act deliuered into his hands, whom he put to death, and then placed Memnon in Andromachus rowme. He deliuered into the Methuian hands, Aristonicus, and Crisolaus, that had vsurped amongst them, whom they after many greivous torments did hang over their walles. That done he gaue audiēce to the Embassadors of the Athenians, the Rhodians and the Sciotes. The Athenians did gratify vnto him his victorie, and required that such Greeks as were taken prisoners, might be restored to liberty, The Rhodians and the Sciotes demaunded assistance of some garrison: he graunted to them all their requests, and restoring to the Miteles all their pledges, encreased their territory and Dominion in respect of the fidelity they shewed vnto him, and the money they had employed in the warres. Hee gaue honour also according to their desertings vnto the Kings of Cipres which revolted from Darius vnto him, & had aided him with shippes at the siege of Tyre. Amphoterus his Admiral had commission to

drive

of Quintus Curtius.

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drive the Persians out of the Ile of Creete, but specially that he should rid the seas of the Pirats, which troubled and spoyled all the Ilands, whilst these two Princes conuerted their powers one against another. When hee had geuen order to all thinges, he did dedicate to Hercules at Tyre, a great standing peece and thirtie bowles of golde. That done hee set his whole minde and care vpon Darius, causing it to be proclaimed that euery man should set forwards towards Euphrates. But Darius vnderstanding that his enemy was gone through Egypt into Aphrick, stood in doubt whether he should stay about Mesopotamia, or withdraw into the inward parts of his kingdom: iudging that he should be able to work with those farre nations in bringing of them forwards to the warres, that his lieutenant should not be able to doo. Yet when the same had published, and hee vnderstood by assured aduertisement that Alexander was returned out of Egypt: and fully resolved to followe him with all his power into what countrey soeuer he should goe: he then gaue order that the force of all the far Nations should draw towards Babilon, knowing the stoutnes of his enemy he had to match withall. Whether restored both Bactrians, Scythians, and Indians: for the power of other Countries were

to

come

The fourth booke supplied  
come thither before. And hauinge the  
double number of men that hee had before in  
Cilicia, prepared armour for them with dili-  
gence, wherof many of them had want. Both  
the horsemen and Horses were armed with  
plates of Steele. Such as before had no wea-  
pons but darts, had swords and bucklers ge-  
uen to them more. And to increase the power  
of his horsemen, he deliuered many Horses to  
be broken amongst the footmen. He had pre-  
pared also 200 wagons set with hooks, which  
in those Countries were esteemed thinges of  
great force, and iudged to bee of a wonderfull  
terror to the enemy: they were made with  
great long pikes sticking out before, and with  
swords set ouerthwart on both sides. The  
Wheeles were also full of Iron pikes right  
forth, and of great hookes both byward and  
downward wherewith al thing was cut a sun-  
der that came in their waye. When his people  
was thus furnished of armour, and had prou-  
ided sufficiently for the warres, hee remooued  
from Babylon, & keying the Riuer of Tygre  
on his right hand, and Euphrates on his left  
hand, ouerspyed with his army all the plaines  
of Mesopotamia. After that he passed Tygre,  
and vnderstanding that his enemy was com-  
ming at hand, first sent Satropaces before w<sup>th</sup>  
a thousand chosen horsemen, and afterwards  
appoynt-

of Quintus Curtius.

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appointed 6000. to Mazaustus stop Alexan-  
der the passage of the riuer. Who had also in  
commission to wast and burne all the coun-  
trei where he iudged that his enemies should  
come, thinking to famish them for want of vic-  
tuals, considering that they had no other pro-  
uision but such as they got by rauen, and by  
stealt: they themselves hauing plentie brought  
both by lande and by the riuer of Tygre. At  
length hee came to a Village called Arbella,  
which was afterwarde famous by reason of  
his ouerthrow. There he left the chiefe furni-  
ture of his victualles, and carriage, and made  
a bridge ouer the Riuer of Licus, and in fiew  
daies conueyed ouer his army, as he had done  
before ouer Euphrates: passing forwards fro  
thence about fower score furlonges: hee came  
to another Riuer called Boumello, and there  
encamped. The countrey serued wonderfull  
well for the arranging of his battails in the  
large plaines, passable for horses euery where  
and without stubbes, or short bruste to couer  
the grounde withall hauinge so free a pros-  
pecte, that the Eye might discerne thinges  
a great waye off. And if there appeared a-  
ny Hylls within the plaine, Darius cau-  
sed the same to be cast downe, and the ground  
to be made smooth. Such as by coniecture  
made report to Alexander of Darius power

R 2

could

The fourth booke supplied  
could not be credited, for hee could not thinke  
after so many slaine there could bee a greater  
power gathered together then hee had before.  
But hee that neuer doubted any perill, and  
much lesse the multitude of men, after the ele-  
uently encamping, came to the Riuer of Eu-  
phrates, ouer the which he made bridges, pas-  
sing ouer his horsemen, and afterwarde his  
footmen. For Mazeus that was sent against  
him with six thousand horsemen to let his pas-  
sage durst not encounter with him. When he  
had continued there a few daies, not onely to  
rest his Souldiers, but also to confirme their  
minde, and to encourage them, hee set for-  
wards stoutly against his enemy, fearing  
they would haue retired back into the inward  
parts of Persie, whither he should haue been  
enforced to follow by wast places & desertes.  
Therefore the fourth day he passed by Arbel-  
la, and came to the Riuer of Tygre. All the  
countrey beyond the riuer was on a smoake  
newly set on fire by Mazeus, who burned all  
thinges where he came euen as hee had bene  
an enemy. Alexander, at the first by reason  
of the darkenes of the smoke, staied for feare  
of ambushments. But when they which were  
sent to scoure the Countrey reported that all  
thing was cleere, hee appoynted a few horse-  
men to proue the passage of the Riuer, who  
found

found the deepnes at the first entrie to come  
to the horse brest, and in the middelt of the  
streame to the horse neckes. There is no riuer  
in all the East part of the World that runneth  
so violently, which besides the waters of other  
Riuers that do runne into it, dyueth downe  
stones with the streame, so that of his swift-  
nes it is called Tygre, which in the Persian  
Toung is so much to say as an Arrowe. The  
footmen therefore deuided into two bandes,  
holding their armour ouer their heads, were  
enclosed on both sides with the horsemen, and  
so passed till they came in the deepe of the cha-  
nel, without any great difficulty. The King  
was the first amongst the footmen that passed  
ouer to the further side, who with his hande  
(seeing his voice could not be heard) shewed  
the shallow places vnto the Souldiers. But  
they had much paine to keepe their footing by  
reason of stones, whereupon they stumbled, &  
of the violence of the Water that tooke their  
feet away. Such as carried burthens on their  
backs had the greatest trauel, which not being  
able to stay themselves by reason of the trouble  
of their cariage, were borne down by violence  
of the stream. And whilst euery man went a-  
bout to recouer again his own, ther fell grea-  
ter strife amongst themselves, then they had  
with the stream. And the heaps of fardels that

The fourth Booke supplied  
fleeed every where vpon the water bare down  
many. The King cryed to them that it was  
sufficient to keep their armour and let the rest  
goe, promising to recompence every man: but  
they neither followed his counsell, nor did as  
he commaunded them. For besides the noise  
that was amongst them, feare filled their  
eares as they were swimming and wading  
through the water. At length when the stream  
was most shallow they came forth, there be-  
ing nothing miscarped or wanting amongst  
them all, saving a few fardels. If their ene-  
mies had made but a proffer against the, they  
might easily haue bin put to distresse. But A-  
lexanders continuall good Fortune turned  
then his enemies away from him, with which  
fortune hee passed the riuer of Granike when  
so many thousands both of horsemen and foot-  
men kept the passage against him. After that  
sozt hee ouercame the multitude of his ene-  
mies in the streets of Cilicia. Though his  
boldnes were such, that it sometime wanted  
praise, yet his felicity euer deliuered him out  
of all extreame perill. If Mazeus had done  
his part, and sett vpon them as they were pas-  
sing the riuer, he might easily haue put them  
to distresse, being vnarmed & out of order: but  
after the Macedons had armed themselves (be-  
ing then to late) he began to shew himself with  
a M.

of Quintus Curtius. 74  
a M. horsemen. When Alexander perceived  
the small number that came against him, hee  
caused Ariston Captaine of the Peronians  
to geue a full charge vpon them. The horse-  
me that day notably behaued themselves, but  
in especiall Ariston, which with his spear ran  
Satropases the chiefe Captaine through the  
throte, and pursuing him into the midst of his  
troupe, threw him from his horse, and cut off  
his head, which to his great commendacion,  
he brought and threw down before the King.  
Alexander taried there 2 daies and against  
the morning caused warning to bee geuen by  
proclamacion for his setting forwardes. But  
in the first watch of the night, the Moone suf-  
fred Eclips, which loosing her brightnes, af-  
terwardes became as redde as bloude, and  
therewith waxed dimme and darke. The  
strangenes of this matter did strike a religi-  
ous feare amongst the Macedons, where-  
of proceeded such a doubt and dread, that they  
fell into a murmure, and grudging that they  
shoulde bee brought forwardes after such a  
manner against the will of Gods, into the vt-  
termost boundes of the Earth, whereas they  
were not hable to passe the Rivers, nor  
coude not enioye the accustomed vble of  
the elementes, findinge nothinge but waste  
groundes and wilde desertes: all which  
K 4 was

The fourth booke supplied  
was done (they sayd) for the ambition of one  
man, for whose vain glory the bloud of so ma-  
ny thousands should be shed. He dispiseth (qu  
they) his countrey, hee hath forsaken Phillp  
for his father and affected heauen in his foolish  
imagination. When Alexander perceiued  
the matter to come to a muttering, hee that in  
all thinges was without teare, commaunded  
the chiefe rulers and Capitains of his men of  
warre to assemble at his pavilion, and there  
commaunded the Astronomers of the Egip-  
tians (whom hee iudged to haue most under-  
standing of the Planets) to declare their opi-  
nions. They understanding very wel the reuo-  
lutions of the time, and their appointed cour-  
ses knew that the moone did euer eclipse when  
that either she went vnderneath the earth, or  
else when her light was blemished by opposi-  
tion of the Sunne, which reason conceived a-  
mongest themselves, they accustomed not to  
teach the people. But affirmed y<sup>e</sup> the Greeks  
were vnder the respect of the Sunne, and the  
Persians vnder the Moone: and therefore so  
often as the Moone faileth of her light, it sig-  
nified great destruction to the nations vnder  
that constellation. And to confirme that opini-  
on of theirs, they brought in old presidents of  
the Kinges of Persie, to whom the Eclipse of  
the Moone had signified, that the Gods were  
against

against them in fightinge of their battails.  
There is nothing more effectuell then super-  
stition to gouerne a multitude, which other-  
wise is without rule, madde, and mutable: but  
when they haue once conceived a Religion,  
though it be but vaine: they be more obedient  
to their Diuiners, then to their Captaynes.  
Which thing might bee well perceiued, when  
the answeres of the Egipcians were spread a-  
broad amongst the people. For they straight-  
waies were remoued frō their dulnes & dis-  
pair & stirred vp to hope & confidence. Alex-  
ander therefore that coulde vse the time and  
employ his souldiours in their good mood: in  
the second watch remoued his campe, keeping  
Tigre on his right hand, and the mountains  
which they call *Gordeies* on his left hand. By  
the spring of the day the scourers that he sent  
before to discouer, returned to him with re-  
port that Darius was comming. Then the  
Souldiers prepared themselves to the fight,  
& marched forward in order of battaile. But  
those that discouered for the Persians, were  
but a thousand horsemen, which keeping the  
scout a farre off, seemed to the Macedons to  
be a great army. The scourers commonly haue  
that property, that when they cannot finde out  
the truth, they imagin through feare thinges  
that bee false. When Alexander understood  
the

The fourth booke supplied  
stood the certaintie, he sent out towards them  
a small number of his own horsemen: at whose  
comming they fled, and were partly slain, and  
partly taken Prisoners. That done, hee sent  
horsemen as wel to discover further, as also to  
quench the fire which the Persians had made  
through all the Countrey: For as they fled a-  
way, they put fire into the roofes of their hou-  
ses, and the stackes of corn, which soone took  
hold about, and consumed all till it came to  
the ground. By extinguishinge of those  
fires, great plenty of Corne was founde, and  
aboundance of all other thinges ensued among-  
est the Macedons. That was a matter  
whiche encouraged the Souldiers greatly to  
pursue their Enemies. For they doubting  
least they should burne and consume all suche  
thinges as might serue to their vse: pursued  
them with all the speed they could make: wis-  
dome growing of necessitie. For Mazcus  
which before did burne the countrey at leisure,  
when he saw himselfe pursued, fled away, and  
left vnto the Macedons the more part vntou-  
ched. Alexander vnderstanding that Da-  
rius drew towards him, and was come  
within an hundred and fiftie furlonges, made  
provision of victuals, and remained four daies  
in the same place. Darius letters were there  
intercepted, which hee had written to the  
Greeks,

Greekes, in perswasion ether to kill or betray  
Alexander. He doubted whether hee should  
recyte the same letters openly or no, having  
no mistrust of their beneuolence and affection  
towards him. But Parmenio dissuaded  
the putting of any such promises into the sol-  
diers heads, considering that the committing  
of such an acte consisted in one mans hande,  
and that couetousnes iudged neuer any thing  
vnlawfull. He folowed Parmenio his coun-  
sel, and so remooued his Campe. As they  
were marching, one of the Eunuches that at-  
tended vpon Darius wife brought word howe  
shee fainted, and was in great perill of death.  
For shee in very deede was so wearied with  
continuall trauell of her iourney, and care of  
minde, that shee fell downe in a swoone be-  
twixt her mother in law, and her young daugh-  
ter, & so dyed. He had not so soone told y<sup>e</sup> tale,  
but another came with tidings that shee was  
dead indeede: whereat Alexander was no  
lesse sorrowfull, then if his owne mother had  
bene in the same case, and weeping no lesse che  
Darius should haue done, repairing into the  
tent wher Darius mother was sitting by the  
dead body: there hys sorrow reuened when hee  
saw her lye prostrate vpon the ground: who by  
y<sup>e</sup> chaunce that presently fell, being put in re-  
memb<sup>r</sup>ance of her aduersity by past, embraced in  
his

The fourth Booke supplied  
lamented her death, and wepte no lesse then  
hee him selfe would haue done. Those words  
did driue him into a further suspicion and ie-  
lousie, coniecturing that Alexanders beha-  
uiour therein, had risen vpon the familiar cō-  
uersation had betwixt them. Therefore hee  
auoiding all persons from him, sauing onely  
Tyriotes, and left his weeping, but yet sob-  
bing for sorrowe said vnto him. Thou seest  
now Tyriotes, that lyes can take no place.  
Comments straight waies shall hee brought  
before thee. I require thee therefore if any re-  
uerence of thy Prince remain within thy hart,  
tell me without compulsion the thinge that I  
desire to knowe and am ashamed to enquire.  
Is it possible being of the age that hee is, and  
hauing her in his handes, that hee should not  
attempt her? Tyriotes offered him selfe to be  
racked in triall of the cause: & called the gods  
to witnes, that she was neuer vsed but chasti-  
ly & reuerently. At length when he was once  
perswaded that his wordes were true, he co-  
uered his face weeping a long space, and af-  
terwards the teares yet distilling downe his  
Cheekes, vncouered his face, and holding vp  
his handes to heauen said:

O you Gods that I doe worship, I require you  
chiefly to establish this kingdome vnto my selfe!  
But if ye haue determined my ruin & decay, then  
my

my request is that none may raigne as King in my  
Dominion, but euen he that is so iust an enemy, &  
so mercifull a victorer.

And therefore, though hee had twise before  
required peace at Alexander his handes &  
preuailed not, but had conuerted all his mind  
toward the wars: yet he was then so ouercom  
with the cōtinency of his enemy, that hee sent  
ten of the chiefe of his bloud as embassadores  
to treat with him vppon conditions of peace.  
Alexander calling a counsell gaue them pre-  
sence, to whom the eldest spake in this wise.

That Darius hath now the third time demaunded  
peace of you, no power hath compelled him, but  
your iustice and continency hath moued him. Hee  
should not perceiue that ether his mother, wife or  
Children were prisoners, sauing for want of theyr  
company, you taking care of their chastities which  
remain aliue like a father. You giue to them the ho-  
noure appertaining, & suffer them to continue in  
their former estate. I see that dolourousnes in your  
face, that I saw in Darius when I parted from him  
and yet he doth mourne for his wife, and you for  
your enemy. And if the care of her buriall had not  
been, you had now stande in battell in readines to  
fight. Is it any maruel therefore if he require peace  
of such one, that is so friendlye disposed towardes  
hym? What shall they neede to contende with  
armes, between whom ther remaineth no hatred;  
In his former treatise hee offered that the Riuer  
of Alys which boundeth vpon Lydia should be the  
confynes of your Empyre: but now he proffereth  
you

you in Doure with his Daughter to bee deliuered out of hand all those countries that lie betweene Hellespont and Euphrates. For the performance of which his promise: and for the obseruing of peace, Occhus his sonne, nowe in your possession shall be the pledge for his part. His request is to haue his mother and his two daughters restored vnto him, for which three you shall receiue xxx. thousand talents. Except I knewe the moderation that is in you, I would not be so bold to say that this is a time when you ought not onely to graunt peace, but also to seeke for it your selfe. Looke backe and behold what a great thing you leaue behinde you, and foresee how much it is that you couet before you.ouer great an Empyre is dangerous. And it is hard to hold that you be not able to receiue. Doe you not see that those ships which be of exceeding greatnes, that they cannot well be gouerned? Iudge that to be the cause that Darius lost so much, because that ouermuch is the occasion of much lesse. It is more facill to get many things then to keepe a fewe. How much more easilly do our handes catche then hold still? The very death of Darius wife now dooth shewe, that you haue not so great occasion to shew mercie as you had before.

The Embassadors were remooued vnto another place, and he debated in counsell his opinion. It was long before any durst utter what they thought, because they were uncerteine how the king was enclined. At length Parmenio spake and said:

My opinion was euer that the prisoners taken at Damasco should haue beene deliuered to such

as would redceme them, whereby a great summe of money might haue beene made of them, which now remayning in captiuitie, pester the handes of many a man of seruice. And now I thinke moste necessary of all, that you exchange for xxx. talents of gold, this old woman and the two young Damosels, which be but impediments and disturbance to you in your iourneis. Here is a rich realm to be gotten by treaty without any hasard of battle. For there was neuer none before you (quod he) that was Lord of all the countrey in length & breadth lying betweene Istor and Euphrates. Hee willed him therefore rather to haue respect towards Macedonia, then to loke forward towards Bactria and the Indians.

His words liked not the King, and therefore so soone as Parmenio had made an end of his tale, he made this answer.

And if I were Parmenio, I woulde rather desire money then glory. But now seeinge I am Alexander, I am not in any doubt of pouertie, and haue consideration that I am a King, and no marchant. I haue nothing whereof I will make sale, & much lesse sell my fortune. If I were in minde to deliuer the Prisoners, it were much better to geue them freely, then to ransom them for money.

Hereupon he called in the Embassadors, and answered them in this sort:

Shewe you to Darius that geuinge of thankes is but wast to a mans enemye, and let him not thinke that I haue had any respect to his friendship in those thinges that I haue done of mine owne clemencye and liberality. Nor let him not impute

the same in anye wise towardes hym selfe, but to the inclination of myne owne nature, and that I contende not against mennes calamities, but against the force of mine enemyes. I vse not to make warre with women and prisonners, for he must bee armed, to whom I shall shewe my hatred. And though it were so indeede, that he ment good faith in his peace asking, yet peradventure I woulde aduise mee before I woulde consent. But seeing that at sometime he hath by his letters prouoked my Souldiers to betray me, and at other tymes stirred vp my frendes with Money to my destruction: I must pursue him to the vttermost: not as a righteous enemye, but as one that worketh his thinges by treason. If I should accepte the condicion, of peace that you doe bringe, I should acknowledge him to bee victor, which liberally doth geue mee all that is behinde the riuer of Euphrates, not considering in what place I speake now vnto you. Haue you forgotten that I am passed the riuer of Euphrates, and encamped beyonde the boundes yee proffer mee in Dowry? driue mee from hence, that I may knowe the same to be yours, wherewith ye would enfeoffe mee. He profereth me his daughter with no greater liberty then hee woulde doo to one of his Seruauntes. Doth he thinke to doo me a pleasure in preferring mee to be his sonne in law before Mazeus? Goe and shewe this to your King, that both the thinge hee hath lost, and that hee hath yet in possession, shall bee vnto mee rewardes of the warre, which warre shall discusse the boundes of both our Empires, and by the fortune of the Battaille wee shall fight to morrowe, appoint to eche of vs our limits. Let him know that I came not into Asia to receiue but to geue. If hee woulde haue beene contente

to bee seconde person, and not coueted to bee equall with me, I woulde peradventure haue graunted his request. But as two Sunnes cannot shine on the earth at once, so likewise two suche great great kingdomes can not be at one time, without the subuersion of the worlde. Therefore let him eyther this daye yeelde hymselfe, or else prepare against the morrowes fighte, nor let him not perswade himselfe to haue other fortune, then hee hath proued already.

The Embassadors replied: that seeing he was resolved to proceede with warre, hee did royally in that he was plaine, and did not feed them forth with hope of peace. Their request was therefore that they might bee dispatched to their prince, to warne him to prepare himself likewise. When they returned they brought word that there was no way, but prepare for the fight. Wherefore Darius sent Mazeus, out of hande with three thousand horsemen to keepe the passages, wherby the Macedons should passe. When Alexander had performed funerals of Darius wife, leauing with a small garrison all such as were unprofitable for the fight, within the strength of his campe, set forwards towards his enemies. His footmen were deuised into two battailes empaied with horsemen on both sides, and his carriage went in the middes. Hee sent Medinas with horsemen vpon the spurs to discouer, where

The fourth booke supplie  
hauing also fiftie hooked Wagons, placed a  
band of Caspian Horsemen before them, and  
behind them, the Indians, and other the inha-  
biters of the red Sea, rather names of men  
then good assistance. This square was em-  
paled with fiftie wagons, vnto the which the  
Mercenary souldiers were ioynd: after them  
followed the men of Armenie the lesse, then  
Babilonians, and next the Bellitans, with  
such as inhabit the Cossian mountains. The  
Bortuans came next, which sometime follo-  
wed the Medians out of Euboa: but at those  
dayes degenerated from their Countrey cus-  
tomes. The Phrygians, Cathonians, & Par-  
thians enclosed the taile. This was the bat-  
taile on the left hande. In the battaile on the  
right hand were the people of the greater Ar-  
menie, the Cadusians, Capadocians, Sirti-  
ans and Medians, who had fiftie hooked Wa-  
gons. The summe of his whole Army was  
xlv. M. horsemen, & c. thousande footmen.  
When they were plac'd in order of battaile,  
they marched forward ten furlongs, and then  
were commaunded to stay. Whilist the Per-  
sians after that manner taried for their Ene-  
mies, there fell a sodaine feare amongst the  
Macedons: whereof there appeared no cause,  
and yet every man was amased, and a secret  
dread entred into their hearts. The lightning  
that

that fell out of the ayre beeing in the sommer  
season seemed like fier, and the flames soden-  
ly appearing, were thought to come from  
Darius campe, If Mazeus, which was sent  
to obserue their comming, had set vpon them  
whilist they were in this feare, he might haue  
done them some notable damage. But he was  
slacke to do his enterprise, and remained vpon  
the top of an hil, contented that he was not af-  
failed. Alexander perceiuing the terour that  
was come amongst his men, made a signe for  
them to stay, and gaue order that they should  
vnarme themselves, and refreshe their bo-  
dies: geuing them to vnderstande that there  
was no cause why they shoulde so sodaynly  
conceiue a feare, seeing their Enemies were  
yet a good distaunce from them. At length  
when hee perceiued they had recouered their  
Spirites, hee exhorted them both to receiue  
courage, and to put on their Armour. But yet  
he thought nothing more expedient for y<sup>e</sup> case  
present, then to fortify his campe in the same  
place. The next day Mazeus which had plan-  
ted himselfe on a high hil, fr<sup>o</sup>m whence he might  
behold his Enemies camp, either for feare, or  
else because his commission was but onely to  
discouer, returned againe vnto Darius. Upon  
his departure the Macedons by and by tooke  
the hil which he had forsaken, the same beeing

alreadye stricken a suddaine feare amongst the Macedons: which (hee said) myght bee seene by their rumpage here and there, by the carrynge and casting of their Armour. And that the Goddes which tooke care of the Persians Empire, were nowe determyned to punish those Cowardes: Whose Captaine (quod he) beeing of no other sorte then the reile, were like vnto those wilde beastes, which throughe greedines of the Prey that they do couet, fall into the snares that hee set for them. The like care was amongst the Macedons. For as thoughe the matter shoulde haue beene tryed that Nyght, they passed it ouer in doubt and feare. Alexander hymselfe (that was neuer seene in suche feare before that time) called for Aristander to make bowes and prayrs: whoe in a whyte Garment carryng Verbenes in his hande, with his heate couered, went before the King, calling vpon Iupiter, Minerua, and Victoria. When he had thus performed his sacrifice according to their Religion, he returned into his Pavillion to rest the residue of the night. Yet he could neither rest nor sleepe, but continually debated with himselfe which way he shoulde assaile his enemies. One while he was of opinion to geue his first onset vpon that battaile of the Persians that should

come

come on his right hand: sometime he determined to meet his enemies in the very front, and otherwhile was in doubt whether it were better to set first on their left battaile. At length his body became heauy with trauel of his mind, and fell into a sound sleepe. When the day appeared, the Captains assembled about his kings Pavillion, to receiue their charge, where they stood amazed with greater silence then they were accustomed. For they could not but wonder that Alexander, who was euer wont to call vpon other men, and to reprove such as were slow or negligent, not to bee then stirring, when the matter was come to the point of the extreame daunger. And many were opinion he slept not, but thronke for feare: yet for all that, none of them that were about his person durst attempt to wake him. In the mean season the time past away, and the soldiers might neither put on their armour nor goe in order of battaile, without commaundement of their head. When they had thus tarried a good whyle Parmenio gaue commaundement they shoulde fall to meate. At length when the time came that of necessity they must set their battels, he entred into the kings lodging, & called vpon him diuers times by his name: but whe nhe could not awake him with his voice, hee stirred him with his hande.

to proue the minds of such as were about him, called his friends to consult what was best to doe. Parmenio  $\text{p}$  was the most expert man among all the Captains in the feats of warre, he thought good not to geue his Enemyes playne battaile, but rather to set vppon them in the dead time of the night, whereby he thought they might easily be discomited: supposyng that they among whom there was so great diuerfity of customes & alteration of language, could neuer assemble well together, specially when they should bee put suddenly in feare in the night time beeing a sleepe: wheras in the day time the shape of the Scythians and Bactrians with their rough Faces, and longe haire, besides the hugenes of their bodies should appeare terrible. And argued how souldiers were more moued with the vaine causes of feare, and such as were of no-momente, then with suche as were iust causes indeede. He declared also how their enemies by reason of their great multitude, should be able to enclose their smal number round aboute: and that they should not now fight in the streights and narrow passages of Cilicia, but in an open and large playne:

They all in manner agreed to Parmenio his saying: and Policarpon was of a plaine opinion, that the victory consisted in the point which he had deuised. The King that before had taunted Parmenio more bitterly then he thought good, would not checke him againe, but beheld Policarpon, and said:

That pollicy that you aduise me, pertaineth to stealers and theeuers: for it is their propertye to worke

worke by sleight and deceyt, I will no more suffer that either Darius absence, the streightnes of the grounde, or the stealth in the Night shall bee an hinderance to my glory. I am playnly determind to haue to doo with him in the open day, and had rather repent me of my fortune, then be ashamed of my victory. Besydes this it is to be considered, that the Persyans keepe good watch: & stand armed alwaies in a readines to receiue vs, wherof I haue aduertisement, so that they cannot be deceiued that way: therfore there doth remain no more but that you prepare your selues to the battaile.

When he had by these wordes put them in a courage, he dismissed them from counsell, to refresh their bodies, Darius conjecturing  $\text{p}$  his enemies would haue done the sam thing that Parmenio did perswade, caused the horses to stande readie bydled the whole night. & the more part of his hoste to continue armed, and keep good watch. His camp shone bright with the fires that were made, and he himselfe with his Captains and kinsfolks went about his battailes that stood in order and in armes, making inuocation to the Sunne, to Mars, & to  $\text{p}$  everlasting fire,  $\text{p}$  they would inspire vnto them a fortitude of minde, that might answer to the ancient glory and acts of his predecessors. And shewed if the mind of man were able to conceiue any tokens or signes of the Goddes fauour or assistance: it was no doubt but that they were bent on their side, hauing already

The fourth booke supplied  
of more strength then the plain, where they re-  
mained before, from whence they might be-  
hold their enemies campe. And though þ mist  
which the moist hilles did cast forth, took not  
away cleerly the vse of the prospect: yet it let-  
ted them to discern the diuision of their ene-  
mies battails, & their order, the multitude of  
whom ouersped the fieldes, and the noise of  
such a number filled their eares, though they  
were farre of. Then Alexander began to re-  
uolue in his head, and debate with himselfe,  
one while Parmenios opinion, and another  
time his owne. For hee was come so far forth  
that he could not retire except hee were victo-  
rer, without the great destructiõ of his army.  
The multitude of his Enemies mooued him  
much in respect of his small number. Yet on  
the other part he remembred what great acts  
he had done with them, and how many nati-  
ons he had banguished. So that hope surmoũ-  
ting his feare, he thought it most daunger of  
all to defer the battaile any longer, least des-  
peration might grow amongst his men, and  
therefore dissembling the matter, caused the  
mercenary horsemen and the þones to passe  
on before, and deuised his þhalanx (as it hath  
bin said before into 2, battails and empaled þ  
same with horsemen on both sides. By þ time  
the mist auoided, and it began to waxe cleare,  
the

þ order of their enemies appearing manifest-  
ly. The Macedens then, whether it were of  
courage, or for that they were impatient to  
tary any longer, made such a shout as men of  
warre vse when they ioyne in battaile: the like  
was also made by the Persians. Then the  
woods and valleis rounde about redounded  
with the terrible sound. The Macedõs could  
not absteyne any longer, but would haue for-  
ward towards their enemies. But Alexan-  
der thought it better to fortify his campe vp-  
pon that hill, and so commaunded it to bee en-  
trenched about. Which worke beeing speede-  
ly perfourmed, hee entred into his Tent, from  
whence hee might beholde the whole armie of  
his enemies host. Then the whole fashon and  
fourme of the danger that was at hand, was  
presented before his eyes: both horsemen and  
footmen glistered in their bright armour, and  
all things were prepared with great dilligẽce.  
He beheld the care of the Captaines in his e-  
nemies Campe, howe they did ride vp and  
downe to sette thinges in order. And diuers  
things which were but vaine indeede (as the  
noyse of men, the neying of horses, and the gli-  
stering of their Armicure) troubled yet the  
minde that was carefull in the expectation of  
the matter. Therfore whether it were that he  
was not fully resolved in his minde, or else  
to

## 18 The fourth booke supplied

It is far fourth day (quod he) & your enemies come forwards in order of battaile, and your souldiours being yet vnarmed, haue no commaundement giuen them what they shal do. Where is that cheeresnes and courage of yours become, which were wont to stirre vp other men:

**Alexander made answer vnto him.**

Thinke you that I could sleepe before that I had rid my selfe of the care that letteth me to take my rest? and therevpon caused the trompets to blow to the battaile. But when Parmenio continued still in admiration that he in such a time could sleepe so quietly, It is no maruaile (quod Alexander) when Darius burned the countrey; wasted the Villages, and destroyed the victuals, I could then in no wise be quiet. But now what cause haue I of feare, seeing he prepareth himselfe to fight? He hath now fulfilled my desire: resort you where your charge lyeth, and I will streightwaies come to giue order amongst you, and reason this matter afterwards.

He vsed seldom to take his friends aduise when any doubt or danger was at hand. When Parmenio was gone, he armed himselfe, and came forwards amongst the souldiers. They seeing him looke so cheerefully as they had not done before time, conceiued by the boldnes of his countenance a certaine hope of the victorie. Then he caused the trenches of his campe to be cast downe, that the Souldiours might haue free passage forth, and so did set his battailes in order. The horsemen which they

of Quintus Curtius.

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they call Agenia, of whom Clitus was capitaine, were set in the wing of his right hand battaile, to whom he ioyned Philotas and other Capitaines. The last bande of horsemen was Meleagers, which went next vnto the square battaile of footmen that the Macedons name Phalanx. After the Phalanx followed the Argiraspides, of whom Nicanor the son of Parmenio was capitaine. Cenos with his band was appointed to be a reliefe: Horestes and Lyncesta came next in order, and after them Polycarpon that had the rule of the strangers, and Phylagus which had the rule of the Balacons. And this was the order of Alexanders battaile in the right ward, whereof Amintas was chiefe. In the left battaile Craterus had the charge of the Peloponnesian horsemen, and with him also the bandes of the Achians, Locrians, and Boeotians, and the last troupes were the horsemen of Thessaly, vnder Philip their capitaine. Thus the horsemen couering the footmen, made the front of the left battaile. And lest the enemies through their multitude should enclose the battaile about, he planted a great force behinde for the reliefe of that matter, and set a reliefe also vpon the winges not in front with the rest, but vpon the sides, to the intent that if the enemies attempted to compass about,

the

The fourth Booke supplied the battailes, that they shoulde bee ready to keepe them dooinge. Those that occupied the places of reliefe were the Agrians, of whom Attalus was Captaine, and the Archers of Crete ioyned vnto them. Such as stode in the hinder partes of the battailes, were ordered to turne their Faces from the frontwardes, because that beeing in a readines way, the battailes in enery place should bee of like force. They which stode with theyr faces contrariwise were the Illirians, and the mercenary souldiers, with the Thracians that were lighte harnised. These his battailes were set so aptly to be turned euere way that such as stode in the hinder partes coulde not bee enclosed aboute, but might towardes eache parte make their fronte: so the front, the flankes, and the hinder partes were all of like force. When hee had set his men in order after this manner, hee gaue commaundement, that if the Persians shoulde put forwardes vpon them their hooked Wagons, with a crye or noyse, that then they shoulde open their battailes, and receiue them with silence, not doubtinge but that they shoulde passe through without harine dooinge, yf no man did resist them. But if they shoulde come without anye shoute or clamoure, that then they themselues shoulde make a crye to feare the

the Horse withall, and so with pikes thruste them in on euery side. They which had the charge of the battailes were commaunded to extende theym so muche in breadth as they mighte, least by standinge ouer close, they mighte bee enuironed, and yet not to stretche them so farre out, to leaue the places boyde or thinne in the midst. The carriage and the Prisonners (amongest whom Darius Mother was) were sette in the top of an hill, with a small gard about them. The charge of the lefte Battaille was committed vnto Parmenio, as was accustomed before time, and Alexander himselfe was in the other. When they were come neare together, on Byon canu flyng from the Persian host in all the hast he could make, and declared vnto the King that Darius had planted Iron Galtops, where as he thought his horsemen shoulde passe: and by a certaine signe shewed him the place, because it be auoid. Alexander willed the fugitiue to be kept safe, and assembled all his Captaines together, declaring the matter, and exhortinge them to make their souldiers priue to the danger, for eschewing the place pointed out to them. But all that were in so great an armie coulde not heare the warning geuen, the noyse of both armies takynge away the vse of the eares.

But

But Alexander rising betwixt the battailes, gaue exhortation to the Captaines, and to all ether that were within hearing.

He declared that there was but one hazard remaining to them that had passed through so many countreys in hope of the victorie, which they were now ready to fight for. Therupon he reduced to their memorie the battailes they had fought, at the Riuer of Granike, in the mountaines of Cilicia, and with what speede they had passed ouer both Siria and Egipt, the reherfall whereof put them in great hope and pricked them forwards to the desire of glory. He shewed that the Persians being withdrawne againe from their former flyeng, were now compelled to fight of necessity, because they could flie no further, & how that three dayes together amazed for feare, they had remained still in one place with their armour on their backes. Of whose dispaire (he said) there could be no greater argument, then that they had set on fire their owne countrey, confessing all to be their enemies, that they destroyed not. He exhorted them, not to feare the vaine names of vnknowne nations: for it was a thing nothing pertinent to the moment of the matter, which were called Scythians or Caducians. For that they were vnknowne nations, was the greatest token that they were men of no valure. For because such as be valiant men could neuer be vnknowne in the world. And contrariwise, dastards when they come forth of their dens, bring nothing with them but names of men, whereas you (qd hee) that be Macedons haue obteyned by your vertue and manhod, that there is no countrey in the world ignorant of your actes. He willed them to behold the euill order that

that was in their enemies host, of whom some had no weapon but a darr, other a sling to cast stones, and very few had such armour as they oughte to haue. So that though there were a great number on the other part: yet hee sayd they had more on their side that should come to hand stripes. And that for his part, he would not require any man to aduenture him selfe, except he were an ensample to them to shew valiantnes and courage: For hee promised that he should be seen fighting with the formost, knowing that so manye woundes as hee should get, should be so many ornaments to hys person. He saide, they themselues knew that hee would be no partaker of the pray, but that euer his custome was to bestow the rewards of the victorie to their behoofe and commoditie. His former wordes hee shewed to bee spoken to such as were men of courage, but if there were anye that were therwise they had to say vnto them that they were come to the place from whence they could not flye, hauing left so many countreys behinde them which they had passed ouer, and so manye Riuers and mountains at their backes: so that now there was no waye to their Houses and Countreys, but such as the must make open with their own hands.

This was the exhortation he gaue vnto the Captaines and to such of the Souldiers as stood next him. Darius that was in his lefte battaile accompanied with a choise band of elect horsemen and footmen, dispatched a small number of his enemies, their battails appearing to him thicke and boide of men, when he saw their winges stretched so farre abroad. He stood therefore on his Chariot on high, &

The fourth Booke supplied  
turning himselfe both on the right hande and  
the left, spake in this sort to such as were a-  
bout him.

We that not longe agoe were Lordes of all the  
countreys lying betweene Hellespont & the Oc-  
cean sea, are compelled now to fight, not for fame  
and glory, but for our safegarde and our libertie,  
which chiefly is to be esteemed. This day shall  
either establish or make an end of the greatest Em-  
pire that hath bin in any age. At the riuer of Gra-  
nike wee fought with a small parte of our power,  
when we were vanquished in Cilicia, Siria was a-  
ble to receiue vs, and the riuers of Tigre and Eu-  
phrates were as bulwarkes to defende our King-  
dome. But now wee be come to that point, that we  
haue no place to flye to, if we bee put to flight. All  
things behind our backs are wasted with this long  
warre, neither cities be inhabited, nor men left to  
till the ground. Both our wiues and children do  
follow this army, a pray ready for our enemies, ex-  
cept wee put forth our bodies for the defence of  
suche as bee deare vnto vs. So muche as hath  
concerned me I perfourmed, preparing suche an  
Armye as this huge plaine is scarcely able to re-  
ceiue. I distributed amongst you horse & armour,  
prouiding that victuals should not want for such a  
multitude, and haue chosen out an apt place to  
arraunge our battails in. All the rest remaineth in  
your hands. Do but dare, and the victory is yours:  
dispiſe you this fame which is but a weak weapon  
against men of valure. It is rashnes which hether-  
to yee haue feared as a vertue, whereof when the  
first brunt is spent, it waxeth then dull as these  
Dracons hauing once lost their tongues. This plaine  
hath disclosed their small number, which the  
mountains of Cilicia did hide: you see how thicke  
thier

their rankes be, their wings how they be exten-  
ded abroad, how their battails be empty and void  
of men, & such as be hindermost haue already tur-  
ned their backs. They may be ouerthrowen with  
your horse feete, though I send none against them  
but the hooked wagons. And if we win the battail,  
wee make an ende of the warre, for they haue no  
place to flye vnto. They be shut with Tigre on the  
one syde, and Euphrates on the other, and suche  
thinges, as before made for their purpose, now be  
turned and made cleare against them. Our army  
is light, and without much baggage, and they be  
laden with prayes and with booties. We shall kil  
them therefore as they bee wrapt in our spoiles.  
And the same one thing shall be both our gain &  
the cause of our victory. If any of you bee moued  
with the fame of the nacion, you must think that  
the armor with the outward shew, and not the bo-  
dies of the very Macedons be their present: wee  
haue consumed so muche of their blood since the  
warre began. And seeing they bee but few, their  
losse must needes bee to them the greater. For  
how great so euer Alexander doth seeme to such  
as bee fearfull and cowardes, hee is but a man,  
and if you trust me both rash & without conside-  
ration: and hether to more fortunat through our  
feare then by his owne valure. There is nothing  
can continue that is not gouerned by reason. For  
though Fortune seeme to fauoure for a while, yet at  
length shee shall not support his rashnes. Besydes  
that, the estate of things be full of chaunge, and  
no man hath perpetually felicitie. It may bee that  
the prouidence of the goddes, haue so ordeined  
it, that the empire of the Persians encreased with  
such prosperous successe by the space of two hun-  
dred and thirty years, and brought to so great an

The fourth booke supplied  
 strooped diuers, and many were torne a sunder  
 by the hookes that were on both sides. The  
 Macedons gave not place to them by a little  
 and litle, but troubled their array with a main  
 flight. When Mazcus saw their disorder, he  
 put them in more feare, and appointed out a  
 thousand horsemen to fetch a compasse about  
 the Macedons battails to spoile their carriage,  
 supposing that the prisoners which were there  
 kept, would breake their bandes when they  
 should see their owne nation approche. Par-  
 menio which was in the left wing perceiued  
 this matter well, and therefore sent by and by  
 Polydamus vnto Alexander to shewe him  
 the daunger, and know his pleasure what hee  
 would haue done. When he vnderstood the  
 case by Polydamus.

Goe thy way (quoth hee) and shew Parmenio, if  
 we winne the battaile, wee shall not onely recouer  
 agayne our owne, but shall haue also the spoile of  
 our Enemies. Therefore I woulde not that anye  
 parte of our Force shoulde bee remoued from the  
 maine battaile, but let him fight it out manfully, &  
 not regard the losse of baggage, wherein he shall  
 obserue the honour of mee, and my father Phi-  
 lip, whose custome was to doo the like.

In the meane season the Persians were ex-  
 tred amongst the carriages, and had slaine  
 diuers that were left there in defence: where-  
 upon the prisoners began to lose themselves,  
 and

and taking by whatsoeuer came to hand, took  
 part with the horsemen, and sharply assailed  
 the Macedons: diuers were so ioyfull,  
 that they came to beare tidings to Sisi-  
 gambis howe Darius had wonne the victory,  
 and had ouerthrowen his Enemies to their  
 great slaughter, and also that all their car-  
 riage was wonne, thinkinge the like fortune  
 had beene euery where, seeing they sawe the  
 Persians fall to spoile. And although they ex-  
 horted Sisi gambis that shee should leaue her  
 beauienes and reioyce, yet she continued in the  
 same estate shee was in before, without speak-  
 ing one word or changing colour or counte-  
 nance, but sate still immouable. Shee was  
 so ouercome (as it was thought) with sodain  
 ioy, that she durst not stirre nor attempt for-  
 tune. For such as did beholde her, coulde not  
 perceiue which way hee was entlined. In the  
 meane season Amyntas, that was master of  
 the horse to Alexander, came with a fewe  
 bands of horsemen to succoure the carriages,  
 but vncertaine it was whether hee did it of his  
 owne head, or by the Kings appointment. He  
 was not able to indure the force of the Ca-  
 dussians and Scythians. For scarcely attempt-  
 ing the skirmish, hee was driuen backe, and  
 fled againe vnto Alexander, beeing rather a  
 witnes of the losse of the carriage, then a res-  
 cuer

by their going had left the right hand battaile of Darius thin and naked, hee bent his force wholly that way, and there made a wonderful slaughter and destruction of his enemies, which by reason of their loose array, were not able to withstande him. The Persians in the left wing seeing this thinge, were in hope to haue enclosed Alexander aboute, and came forwards to set vpon his backe part, whereby great daunger had ensued to him beinge environed both before and behinde: if the Agrians had not put their spurs to their horses, & geuen a charge to their Enemies, that were environing the King about, and so compelled the Persians to turne their faces againe towards them. The battailes thus were sore trauailed on both sides. Alexander had his enemies both before and behinde, and his enemies that came on his back were sore oppressed by the Agrians. The Bactrians also that had spoiled the cariages, were excluded from their owne company, and coulde not recouer their place again. Thus the battailes were continued in diuers partes, and fought one against another as their chaunce fell. The two Kings that ioynded their battailes harde one to another, renewed againe the fight. There were most of the Persians slaine, but the number of the wounded were like on both sides. Da-

rius

rius did ride in a Chariot, and Alexander vppon a Horse. They both hadde a choise bande aboute them, which were careles of their owne liues. For if their Kings should miscarpe, neither they coulde bee safe, nor yet desire to liue. Wherefore euery of them thought it a noble thinge to aduenture themselves before the face of their Prince, and he that coueted most to defend his master, was in most perill, for each man desired the honor to kill the King on his contrarie part. There (whether it were an imagination of the eyes, or a thinge done indeed) such as were about Alexander beleueed that they sawe on Eagles flickering aboue his head, which nether feared with clashing of the harness, nor by crying of the that were dying, long staid in the aire a litle aboue him. Then Arisander which wore a white garment, and carried lawrell in his hand, shewed this thing vnto the Souldiers beinge busie in fighting, as a certaine token of victory: & thinge caused them which before were in some doubt cherefully & with great confidence to assaile their enemies: the fight continued after this sort vntill such time that he was slaine, which concerned the horse that drew Darius chariot. Then neyther the Persians nor Macedons doubted but that Darius had been slaine. And the Persians vpon that imagination made a

barba-

The fourth Booke supplied  
 barbarous noyse, and a sorrowfull howling,  
 wherewith they sore troubled and astonied  
 their whole host, that were yet fighting with  
 equal victory Darius kinsmen & the Squiers  
 for his body that were on his left hand left him  
 and fled away with a main flight: but such as  
 stood in his defence on his right hand, con-  
 ueyed him into the hart of the battaile. It was  
 said that Darius drew out his sword and was  
 determined diuers times to kill himselfe, ra-  
 ther then to susteine the shame of flying away.  
 But when he saw as he sat aloft on his Cha-  
 rior, that a greate part of his army remained  
 yet fighting, hee was ashamed to leaue them  
 in such sort. And whilst hee thus wauered in  
 his owne opinion betwixt hope and dispaire,  
 the Persians by litle and litle gaue grounde,  
 and shooke from their order. Alexander  
 that had tyed many horses, did at that instant  
 change a new, and strake at the faces of them  
 that made resistance. There was none then  
 that made resistance any longer, but a manifest  
 slaughter fell on the Persians, and Darius  
 turned his Chariot to flye away. The Mace-  
 dons pursued hard after them that fledde, and  
 the dust that flew vp to the skye, tooke away  
 their prospect, so that they wandered as it had  
 bene in darknes, and cuer vne together whē  
 they heard any voice that they knew. Only the  
 rattling

of Quintus Curtius. 93  
 rattling and noise of the Chariot was a token  
 for the Macedons to follow after. As fortune  
 was prosperous to the Macedons on this part,  
 and contrarious vnto their enemies: so on the  
 other side where Parmenio in the left winge  
 encountered with the Persians, they had the  
 better and the Macedons the worse. Maz-  
 cus with his whole band gaue a charge, and  
 put the horsemen that stood in the winges to a  
 sore distresse. And thereupon by reason hee  
 abounded with multitude, began to enclose  
 the footmen about. Then Parmenio sente  
 worde to Alexander in what daunger they  
 were in, which he signified to be such, that ex-  
 cept they had succour in tyme, they could not  
 resist, but be enforced to flye away. Alexan-  
 der was gone farre in the chase, when this  
 sorrowfull message was brought him. There-  
 fore he commaunded the horsemen to stay, and  
 chased wonderfully that the victorie should  
 thus be taken out of his hands, and that Da-  
 rius had better fortune in flying, then he in his  
 following. In the meane season the same of  
 Darius overthrow was brought vnto Maz-  
 cus. Therefore though he had the upper hand,  
 yet he was striken with such feare of his fel-  
 lowes misfortune that hee made a slacke pur-  
 suite vpon their enemies. Parmenio was ig-  
 norant of the cause why the fight did slacke so  
 wil-

The fourth booke supplied  
willingly of their parte, but boldely vsing the  
occasion of the victorie, called the Thessalien  
horsemen vnto him and said: See you not how  
our enemies that euen now gaue vs a fierce  
onset, be sodainly afraid, and withdraw them-  
selves? I see the fortune of our Kinge doth  
giue vs the victorie. All this field is strowen with  
the Persians shē be slain. Why do you therefore  
flay: are you not good enough for men that be  
flying? They sawe his wordes had an appea-  
rance of a truth, and therefore by and by they  
tooke courage, and putting the spurs to the  
horse, gaue a full charge vpon their enemies,  
who retired not by little and little, but mar-  
ched away a great pace. And they wasted no-  
thing of flying, sauing that they had not yet di-  
rectly turned their backs: yet for all that, in so  
much as Parmenio knew not what was be-  
come of the King, nor of his battaile, staied &  
would not pursue after the. Mazæus hauing  
traisured giuen him to flye at his libertie, passed  
the river of Tigre, not the next way, but by a  
further compass about w<sup>th</sup> more suerty, & reco-  
uered the city of Babilon, with the remains of  
that vanquished armie. In the meane season  
Darius with a few that accompanied him in  
his flying came to the river of Lycus, where  
passing ouer, hee stood indoubte whether he  
should breake the bridge or no. For it was the

wed

of Quintus Curtius. 94  
wed him that his enemies were at hand. But  
considering how many thousands of his men  
by the breaking thereof should bee a praye to  
his enemies, hee left the bridge standing, and  
at his departure, sayd: that he had rather open  
the waye to them that pursued them, then to  
shut it against them that fled after him. But  
Darius left not his flying till hee came to Ar-  
bella, where hee arrived aboute midnight.  
Who is able to conceiue in his mind, or ex-  
presse in wordes the manifold chaunces in  
this discomfiture, the slaughter that fell both  
vpon Captaynes and Souldiers, the Cha-  
sing of them that were put to flighte, and the  
distruction in particular and generall? For-  
tune heaped together that one day the chaun-  
ces of a whole world. Some tooke the way &  
came next to hande, another sort fled into the  
woods, & sought out by pathes to escape such  
as had them in the chase. There was a confu-  
sion of horsemen and footmen mixed together  
without any heade, the armed with the vnar-  
med, & the whole with the hurt. At length the  
compassion that one had of another was tur-  
into feare, & they that could not follow, were  
leste bewailing themselves one to another.  
But thirst chiefly afflicted the wounded and  
wearyed, which lay along euery where in the  
waies where any water was, gasping after it  
with

same flaffe, and after diuers other. When his company saw their Enemies amased with his doings, they brake vpon them, and threw many to the earth: yet they for their partes were not vnreuenged, for the whole battail did not so earnestly fight, as that small band assembled so by chaunce. But at length when they saw flying in the darke to be more surty vnto them then fighting, they shoked away in diuers companies. Alexander hauing escaped this extraordinary perill brought his men in sauegard vnto his campe. There were slaine of the Persians, which came to þ knowledge of them that had the victory forty thousand, & of the Macedons lesse then three hundred. Which victory Alexander wan more by his owne vertue then by any fortune: and with hardines and courage, more then through any aduantage of the ground. For he both ordered his battailes politikely, and fought manfully. With great wisdom he contemned the losse of the baggage, considering the weighte of the whole matter to consist in the battaile it selfe. Whylest the fortune of the field was yet doubtfull, hee vsed himselfe as assured of the victory. And when he had put his enemies in feare, hee ceased not till hee had set them flying, and that which scarcely can be belceued, in that fiercenes of courage, he pursued in the chase

chase more wisely then greedie. For if hee should haue followed on still, part of his power yet fighting in the field, hee should either haue lost the battaile through his owne fault, or else haue wonne the victory through the prowesse of other men. Or if after he had gotten the victory, he had shewed himselfe afraid of the horsemen that hee mette, he must either haue shamefully fled, or haue bene miserably slaine. For his Captaines were not to bee defrauded of their commendation: for the wounds that they did receiue, were tokens of their manhood. Ephestions arme was wounded with a Speare: Perdicas, Cenos, and Menidas with shotte of arrows were neere slaine. And if wee will geue a true iudgement of the Macedons that were there: wee must confesse that hee was a King worthy such ministers, and they men worthy of such a master.

N 2

The





# The fyfthe Booke of

Quintus Curtius of the actes

of Alexander the great,

King of Macedon.



I shall make mention of the matters that chaunced in mean season both in Grece, Illiria, and Thracia, by the appointment and commission of Alexander, in order as they fell: the matters of Asia should thereby bee interrupted, which I thought most convenient to put wholly together, vntill the death of Darius, & then to ioinc them in this work, as they agree with the time. I will first speake of those things that ensued after the battail at Arbella, where Darius arryued aboute midnight. And as it chaunced, the more part of his frendes, and of all other that were come thither. He called them all together, and spake to them in this effect.

That hee desired not but Alexander & his men gaping with greedie desire for the abundance of spoile that was in a readines for them, would visit  
such

such cities and countreys of his, as were most notable and plentiful of riches: which thing he said consideringe his estate, coulde not but turne at length to his auaille. His purpose was he said with a small band to repaire into the deserts. And seeing the uttermost boundes of his kingdom were yet vnrouched, he might from thence easily repaire his power againe to renew the warre. Let therefore that greedy nation (quoth he) take my treasure; and satisfy their great hunger, with gold which shortly shall cause both the same and them also to bee a pray vnto vs. For he had learned (hee said) by experience, that the abundance of riches, and excesse of thinges, that their flockes of Concubines and Eunuches were nothing else but burdens and impediments: which Alexander possessing and carrying about, should make him inferior vnto them of whom before hee was victorious.

This oration seemed to all men to be full of desperation: for they saw thereby that the City of Babylon should be given vp vnto the Macedons, and Susa shortly after, with all other ornaments of the realm that were canie of the war. But hee proceeded in perswading them, how that men in aduersitie ought not do thinges that should seeme goodly in the speakinge but necessarie in the experience. That warres were made with Iron, and not with gold, with men, and not with the walles of Cities, for all things follow them that be armed and in strength. He shewed that his ancestors were afflicted after this maner in the

beginning, & yet recouered again quickly their former estate. After he had spokē these words, euer for that they ther by encouraged, or else that they rather obeyed his auctorite then liked his counsell, followed him into the boundes of Media. Shortly after Arbela was geuen by vnto Alexander, which was full of riches and treasure of precious stufte, and princely apparell, & besides the substance of the whole army was left there. The sickness that began in Alexanders campe, rysing of the sautoure of the dead bodies scattered ouer all the fields, was the cause that hee did the sooner remoue. The plaine Countrey of Arabia very notable with the abundance of sweete odours there growing, lay vpon the righte hande as they marched. And in passing through the Countrey lying betwene Tigre and Euphrates, which is so fatte and plentiful a ground, that the inhabitants be lame to spue their beastes from feeding, least they should kille themselves by eating ouer much. The cause of this fertility cometh of the moisture that issueth from both Riuers distilling by veines through the ground. Both these Riuers haue their beginning in the mountaine of Armenia, where they be distant 5. thousand 5. hundred furlonges, & so runne forwards keeping their distance, till they come near the boundes of Media & Media

dia. For then by litle and litle they further they goe, they drawe more neare together, leauing lesse space betwixte them. They enclose on both sides the Countrey that is called Mesopotamia, from whence they runne through the boundes of Babilon into the redde Sea. After Alexander, had chaunged his campe fower times, he came to a Citie called Demnium, whereas there is a fountaine within a caue that boileth out great plenty of pitch: so it appeareth that the Babilonians had their cement from thence, which they employed about the making of their huge walles. As Alexander was going from thence towards Babilon: Mazeus which was said before to haue fled from the battaile, came to meete him in most humble maner, whereas committing his children into his hands, peeled himselfe, & rendred vp the Citie. His coming was very grateful vnto the King, considering what trauaile hee should haue sustained in the siege of so stronge a Citie: if it had bene kept against him. And besides, for so much as Mazeus was a man both famous and valiant and much noted for his dooing in the last battail, thought his ensample shoulde much prouoke others to do the like. For that cause hee receiued both him and his Children with gentle manner, and yet gaue order to his menne, that they

should enter into the citie in such aray of bat-  
taile as if they should fight. A great number  
of the Babilonians stood vpon the walles,  
desirous to beholde him that was their newe  
king. But the more part went forth to meet  
him. Bagistanos, that was Captaine of the  
castle, and keeper of the Kinges treasure be-  
cause he would shew himselfe to be no lesse af-  
fectionate towards Alexander then Maze-  
us was, strowed all the waies whiche he should  
passe, with flowers and garlands, and set au-  
tels of silver on both sides, with frankensence  
burning vpon the same, and all other kinde of  
sweet odours. Next vnto him came flockes of  
beasts, great numbers of horses with hpones,  
and Pardalles vatted in Cages, which he  
brought as presents to geue vnto Alexander.  
And after them the Magies, singing accord-  
ing to their countrey manner. The Caldees  
were next with their soothsayers and prophetes,  
and then the Persians with their kindes of  
Instruments: whose property was to singe  
the praises of Kinges, and the Caldees vnto  
to declare the motions of the Planets, with  
the course and resolution of the chere. Last in  
order came the Babilonian householde, whole  
sumptuous furniture, both for the kinges and  
their houses, seemed more to be vntowles  
and belied, then to any magnificence. Alex-  
ander

ander that was enclosed about with armed  
men willed that the Babilonians should come  
behind his footmen, and he ryding aloft in his  
Chariot, entred into the citie, and after wards  
into the place, where the next day hee surnei-  
ed Darius treasure and riches. The beautye  
and pleasantnes of that Citie gaue iust occa-  
sion to Alexander, and such as were with  
him to wonder much vpon it. Semiramis  
was the builder therof, and according to some  
mens opinion Belus, whose pallace is to be  
seene there. The walles bee made of Bricke,  
set with a kind of pitche called Bitumen, and  
they be 32. foote in breadth, so that two carres  
may easily goe vpon them a front. They be in  
height a hundred cubits, and the Towars mo-  
ten foot higher then the rest of the walles: the  
compasse of them about is 368. furlongs, be-  
ing builded (as it is lesse in memoire) in so  
many daies. The houses stand the breaddth  
of an acre distant from the walles, not builded  
throughout the Citie but onely by the space  
of 90. furlonges, and those not ioynted neere  
one to another, but for some consideration de-  
uided a sunder. The rest of the ground is sow-  
en and tilled, to the intent that if any forreine  
power come against them, they should be able  
to be relieved by the fruite thereof coming.  
The river of Euphrates doth runne through  
the

the middle of the Citie, and is kept in on both  
 sides with wals of a wonderful workmanship.  
 But the great caues made of bricke & set with  
 pitch in stead of mortar, wrought low within  
 the grolle to receaue the violence of þ stream.  
 do exceed all the rest of the works there made:  
 for except the same were of quantity & large-  
 nes to receiue the water when the stream flo-  
 weth ouer the banks that be made to keepe it  
 in, the violence thereof should beare down þ  
 houses of the Citie. Ther is also ouer þ river  
 a stone bridge which ioyneth both parts of the  
 city together counted amongst the maruel-  
 lous workes of the Orient. For by reason that  
 Euphrates is so full of mud and oyle, grolle  
 can scarcely there be found to lay that founda-  
 tion vpon, and the streame besides casteth vp  
 such heaps of sand against the bridge, that it  
 is an impediment for the water freely to passe,  
 and therefore beareth vpon the bridge with  
 greater force, then if it had his free recourse.  
 There is also a castle that is twenty furlongs  
 about the Towers, whereof bee thirtie foute  
 deepe within the ground, and fower score foot  
 in height about the ground. Where also the  
 wonders are to bee scene, so often mentioned  
 in the Greke poesies. For in the same bee  
 whole groanes of Trees set by wonderfull  
 art about the ground, so high as the toppes  
 of

of the towers, which bee maruellous beauti-  
 ful and pleasant through their height and sha-  
 dow that they make. The whole wrighte of  
 them is sustained and borne by huge Pillers  
 made of stone, vpon which there is a floore of  
 square stone, that both vpholdeth the earth þ  
 lyeth deep vpon the pillar, and also the humor  
 wherewith it is watered. The trees that grow  
 there vpon be of 8. cubits about, & as fruit-  
 ful as if they grew in naturall Earth. And al-  
 though processe of time is wont by little and  
 litle not onely to destroye thinges made with  
 hand, but also the very workes of nature: yet  
 this worke, for all it is oppressed with þ roote  
 of so many trees, and burdened with þ weighe  
 of so much earth, & of so great a wood: yet re-  
 maineth vnpershed in any point, being sustai-  
 ned by with 20. broade walles distant 11. foute  
 one from another. When these trees be scene  
 a farre off, they seeme to bee a wood growing  
 vpon a mountaine. It is saide that a King of  
 Sirlar reigning in Babylon, builded this worke  
 for his wiues fantasie, who for the lone shee had  
 to woodes and shadowe places. moued her  
 husbanke in dooing thereof to counterfai the  
 vpleasants of nature. Alexander tarped lon-  
 ger there then in any other city, which hurted  
 more the discipline of the Macedons in their  
 wayes then any other place. For nothing was  
 more

more corrupt then the maners and customes of the cite, nor any other was more abundantly furnished of all things, wherewith men be delighted and stirred to excessive pleasures. The parents and husbands were contented for gain that their childre and wives should have company with such strangers as came amongst them. The Kinges and nobilitie of Persie, delighte much in banquetting pastime, but the Babylonians be specially geuen thereto, to witte to drunkenness, where the Customers such a custom, that in the beginning of the feast their apparell seemeth womanly and delicate, but afterwards by little and little they put off their uppermost garments, and layinge aslee all shamefastnes, doo discover themselves naked. Which vile custome is not used by warlike onely, but by them all in generall, which count the making of their bodies comely but a civility and good maner: And this belovely customes and abomination, the conqueror of Asia swallowed by the space of 34. daies, wherby he became much the weaker to have more order except he had had an enemy to stande against him. But to the intent that whome he tooke should be the lesse persecuted, he enlarged his power with a new supply of men. For Amyntas the sonne of Antidromenes brought him from Antipater, a

thousand

thousand Macedon footmen, and five hundred horsemen, and with them five hundred Thracian horsemen, with three thousand five hundred footmen of the same nation. He had also out of Peloponese fower thousand footmen, and fower hundred fower score horsemen being mercenarye Souldiers. Amyntas also brought with him fiftie young men of the nobility of Macedonia to attend upon Alexanders person: whose office was to serve the King at meat, and to bring him his horse when he went to battaile. They accustomed to bee about him when he hunted, and kept watch by course at his Chamber doore. These were they which afterwards proved great Captaines, and that was the race, out of the which the rulers of their men of warre did come. Alexander appointed Agathon Captaine of the Castle of Babilon, with seven hundred Macedons, and three hundred mercenary souldiers, and left Mineras and Appollidorus governors, of the Citty and the Countrey, to whom hee assigned two thousand footmen, and a thousand talents, geving them in commission to wage more Souldiers. Hee made Mazeus that gaue the Citty into his handes, lieutenant of the whole, and caused Bagistenes that peyled up the Castle to followe him in his warres, Armenia was geuen to Me-  
chrenes

threues that betrayed the Citie of Sardos, and to encourage his souldier to the enterprising of other things, gaue out of the treasure of Babdon to euery Macedon horseman fve hundred deniers, to euery horseman of the strangers fve hundred, and to euery footman two hundred. When hee had set order in all these things, hee came into the countrey called Sarrapene, which beeing plentifull of all things and aboundant of victuall, caused the King to tary the longer there. And least idlenes should be any abatement of his mens courages, deuised to stir vp their spirits, and kepe them occupied by appointing Judges to try out such as had shewed themselves moste valiant in the wars, to whom he assigned rewards due to their deseruings. Ther were 8. found out, whose doings appeared aboue the rest, & the charge of a *M. mē* was committed to euery one of them, & were called *Chiliarchis*: that was the first time they put a *M.* in a bād: for before the time they wer denoted into 500. which was not counted any great preferment or rewarde of seruice. The number of them were greate that came to plead their right in this behalfe, whiche before the Judges that gaue sentence, brought in testimony of their dooinges: whereby it could not be vnknown which of them had deserued iustly such honour

or not. The first place was adiu'dged to olde Adarchias, for his valiauntnes v'sed in the battayle at Alicarnasson, where hee chiefly did restore againe the fight, when the ponge souldiers had geuen it ouer. The seconde place of honour was geuen Antigonus, and Philotas. Angeus obtained the thirde: the fowerth was adiu'dged to Amyntas, the fifth to Antigonus. Amyntas the sonne of Lyncestes obtained the sixt. Theodorus the seuenth, and Hellanicus the last. Whereupon to great purpose he altered many things that were v'sed by his predecessours in the discipline of warre. For whereas before the horsemen of euery Countrey wer in seuerall bands by themselves, hee without respect of any nation appointed them such Captaines as hee thought expedient. And whereas at the removing of the campe warning was accustomed to be geuen by a trumpet, the sound wherof in any noise or tumult could not bee sufficiently hearde: he caused an high pole to bee alwaies sette vp before his Pavilion, wherenupon remained a signe apparant to all men. The token that they obserued was fier in the Night, and smoke in the day time. As hee was marching towardes Susa, Abulites that was ruler of the Region, either by Darius commaundement, thinking by means of the spoile

spoile to detein Alexander the longer there,  
 or else of his owne free will, sent his sonne to  
 meet him, proffering the deliuerie of the city.  
 The yong man was entreated verie gently,  
 and by his conduction Alexander passed for-  
 wardes, till he came to the riuer of Hydaspis,  
 which is counted to be a very delicate water.  
 Abulites ther met Alexander with prince-  
 ly and rich gistes, and presented him amongst  
 the rest of other thinges Doymedary Camels  
 that were wonderfull swift, with twelue Ele-  
 phants that Darius had sent for out of In-  
 dia, to bee a terrour to the Macedons, whiche  
 nowe wee are become an increase of their  
 strength. When the riches of the vanquished  
 was come into the victorers hands: he found  
 in that citie an incredible treasure, fflye thou-  
 sand talents of Massy siluer uncoyned, which  
 riches gathered together in the space of many  
 yeares by diuers Kings for their succession  
 and posterity, thus in a moment came into the  
 handes of a foreine Prince. Alexander be-  
 ing lodged within the Pallace, did sit downe  
 in Darius seat: which beeing higher then ser-  
 ued for his stature, by reason his feete coulde  
 not reach to the ground: one of the Kings pa-  
 ges put a boord vnderneath for him to treade  
 vpon: at the dooing wherof, one of the Eu-  
 nuches that belonged to Darius looked bea-  
 uily,

uily, and fetched a great sighe, whose sadnes  
 when Alexanders perceiued, he enquired of  
 him the cause. He answered, that when he be-  
 held that boord wherupon Darius was wont to  
 eate employed to so base a vse, he could not be-  
 hold it without great griefe. Alexander be-  
 ing therefore ashamed, so much to misuse the  
 thing that before was had in such reuerence,  
 caused the same, to be taken away. But Phi-  
 lotas made request he should not so do, but ra-  
 ther take it as adiutatio of his good luck and  
 fortune, that the table wherupon his enemy did eat  
 should now becom subiect vnder his feet. A-  
 lexander purposing from thence to passe into  
 Persie, committed the city of Susa to Archila-  
 us with 3000 men of war, & to Zenophilus for  
 charge of the Castle, leauing such Macedons  
 as were aged there in garison. But he did be-  
 take the keeping of the treasure vnto Calista-  
 tes, & restored to Abulites the gouernment &  
 principality of the countrey of Susa, leauing  
 within the city Darius mother & his children.  
 And forasmuch as Alexander had at the same  
 time plenty of cloth of purple sent him out of  
 his countrey, with garments ready made af-  
 ter the Macedons maner: for the honour hee  
 bare to Sisigambis (whom he had in reuerence  
 as if shee had been his mother) thought good  
 to present part of those to her, with the per-  
 sons

sons & bled to make them: and willed it should be told her if shee liked them, she should accustom her needes to make the like, & geue them for presentes. At the declaring of which message the teares ran out of her eyes, which declared the gift not to be acceptable to her: for the Persian women take nothing in more despite, then to put their hands to wooll. When report was made to Alexander, in what sort he had receiued his present, thought both the matter meet to be excused, & her to be comforted. Therefore hee came to visit her, and said:

This garment which I weare, was both of the gift & making of my sisters: our customes brought me into errour. Therefore I require you, that yee will not take myne ignorance in euill part. I trust that otherwise I haue obserued sufficientlye all things which I knew to bee your customes. When I vnderstoode that it was not lawfull amongst you for the sonne to sit in the mothers presence, except he doth geue him leaue: whensoever I came into your presence, I would neuer sit till you willed me so to do. You would often times haue fallen downe and worshipped mee, but I would not suffer you: but haue euer honoured you, and geuen you the name due to my sweet mother Olimpiades.

When the King with these wordes had well pacified her, hee departed, and by fower encampings came vnto a Riuer that the country men call Garamas, which springing in the Mountains of Trions, it runneth steepe downe amongst the rocks with woody banks by

by the space of 10. furlongs: but then descending into a plaine, it becommeth navigable, & so runneth with a more quiet streame, and in a softer ground by the space of 600. furlongs, till such time as it doth enter into the Persian sea. Alexander passing this Riuer with nyue thousand footmen of the Macedons, with the Agrians, the mercenarie Greeces, and with 4000. Thracians, came amongst the Arions, whose Countrey is neare vnto Susis, & stretcheth out into Persia, leaving betwixt it & Susis a narrow freight. Madates had the rule of that countrey, who was such a man as was rare at that time: for he determined to abide & continue for his duties sake. Which as know the countrey vnderforme Alexander, there was a plaine waye through the Arions, whereby he might get to the furthermost side of the chiefe citie of that countrey: and if hee would send a few that were light armed, they might be brought to a place where they should appeare a bovie their Enemies heads. This counsaile liked him so well, that hee made the counsaillers guides, & committed the to Pauris, whom he appointed chiefe of the enterprise. He assigned vnto him 1500. mercenarie Souldiers, and 1000. Agrians, with whom after the Sunne was gone downe, hee entered into his journey. Alexander in the third watch rema-

ned his campe; & by the spring of the day had  
passed the streights: there he set his men in hā  
to cut down timber for the making of towers  
& all other such things as pertained to the as-  
sault of a city, and so began his siege. It was  
a difficult matter to make the approach: the ci-  
ty stood so high, and the rocks gave such im-  
pediment, whereby the souldiers were repul-  
sed, and receiued many hurts, contending both  
with the enemies, & the situation of the places  
notwithstanding they gaue it not ouer, by rea-  
son the king was euer amongst the foremost as-  
king of them if they were not ashamed being  
conquerours of so many cities, to be so long in  
the winning of a small castle, that was so ob-  
scure and unknown in the world. As he was  
trauailing amongst the rest, they did shoote &  
cast stones at him from the walles: whom the  
souldiers defended with their Targets, be-  
cause they could not remooue him away. At  
length Tauron appeared aboue the Castle of  
the Citie: at whose sight the Enemies hearts  
fainted, and the Macedons the more fiercely  
did assaile them. When they saw themselves  
in this extremity, and perceiued their power  
not able to withstand the Macedons, they be-  
cam of diuers dispositions. For some were de-  
termined to die, and many to fflye away. But  
the greater parte retyred them selues into the  
castle

castle, from whence they sente vnto Alexan-  
der 30. embassadours to aske mercy. But he  
gaue vnto them a sorrowfull answer, that  
ther was no part to be obtained at his hāds:  
whereuppon they being in doubt of death, and  
excluded from all other remedies, sent vnto  
Sisigambis by a priue way unknown to their  
enemies, making their request that she would  
bouchsafe to bee a mean to Alexander for  
pacifying of his rigoure and wrath towardes  
them. In her onely they put their hope, know-  
ing how much Alexander loued her and that  
he esteemed her as if she had been his mother.  
And they thought shee would the rather en-  
cline to their desire, because Madates that  
was captain ther had married her sisters daugh-  
ter, wherby he becam a kin to Darius. Sisigā-  
bis stood long in denyall of their request, be-  
wing, that it agreed not with her fortune to  
becom an intercessour for others, adding ther-  
unto, that she feared lest she might mislike the  
victors fauours, and make him wery of her:  
for shee said that shee had more remembrance  
of she was prisoner, then that she was a Queen.  
But at length shee was overcome with their  
sute, and by her letters made intercession vnto  
Alexander after such a sort, that shee first  
excused herselfe of her sute making, and after  
required hym that hee would pardon them.

or at the least wates that he would forgiue her being petitioner but for the life onely of suche one, as was her friend and her kinsman, & now no longer any enemy of his maiesty, but in readines to submit hymselfe. This one matter is sufficient to declare the moderacion & clemency that was then in Alexander: for he did not onely pardon Madates, but also left the Citie vntouched, granting to all that were within it both liberty and freedome, with enioynment of their lands and goods, without paying of any tribute; more then that which the could not haue obtained of Darius being her son. When he had thus subdued the Arions, hee annexed them to the prouince of Susa, and purposing to passe forwards, beuided his army into two partes, wherof he committed the one to Parmenio to be conducted by the plain countrey, & reseruing such a parte as was pestered least with baggage, took the way of the mountains, which with a continual ridge, runneth out in length from thence into Persie. In his passage he destroyed all the mountaine Countrey, attaying the thirde day in the boundes of Persia. The 5. day he entred into the streights of Pylae Susiane, which were defended by Ariobarzanes with 15000. footmen, who keeping the toppes of the high and steepe rockes, that hange ouer on both sides the waye, at the first

kept

kept themselves quiet of purpose, pretending a feare, vntill such time as the Army was entered into the narrowest of the streight. But when they sawe the Macedons passe on forwards in their contempt, the they threw down great stones vpon them: which falling vpon the nethermost rockes, and there breaking in peeces, rebounded among the Macedons, falling with such violence, that they distressed whole bands at once. And besides they did them great damage with shot of arrowes, & stones that they did cast out of slings. Such as were men of courage were not so much greued with the death and destruction that they saw there present, as that they should be slaine after such a maner like beasts caught in a pit, where as they could not be reuenged vpon their enemies. Their wrath herevpon was turned into such a rage and woodnes, that they ran vp against the rockes, and there enforced themselves by taking hold, and by heauing vp one of another, to mount vp vnto their enemies. But when they had caught hold vpon some outward part, and thereby laboured to ascend, by force of so many hands that fastened to it at once, they pulled a sunder the thing they held by, and so fell downe all together. In this case they could neither remaure,

D 4

passe

passe forward, nor yet defend themselves by  
 any deuise they could make with their targets,  
 seeing the stones were of such weight that  
 were throwne downe vpon them. Alexander  
 was in great trouble of minde, not onely for  
 the griefe he receiued by the destruction of  
 his men, but much more for the shame that he  
 had so rashly brought his armie into such a  
 dangerous streight. He had bin invincible be-  
 fore that daye, and neuer attempted thing in  
 vaine. He had passed the streights of Cilicia  
 without damage, and opened to himselfe a new  
 way by sea into Pamphilia, which felicitie of  
 his seemed to be at a stay, and plucked backe:  
 for he could perceiue no other remedie, then to  
 returne by the way he came. He caused there-  
 fore to be blowne, and gaue order to  
 his souldiours to go close together, and by ca-  
 sting their targets ouer their heads returne  
 backe againe, after they had marched xxx. fur-  
 longs within the stright. When he was retur-  
 ned, he had placed his campe in an open ground,  
 consulting what was best to do: such a super-  
 stition entred into his minde, that he called for  
 the priests and diuiners to helpe the matter by  
 their inuocation. But Aristander to whome  
 he gaue most confidence, could do nothing in  
 that case. Alexander therefore condemning

their

their sacrifices which hee thought then done  
 out of time, called for such as knew the coun-  
 trey. They shewed him of another way that  
 was plaine and open enough. but yet he li-  
 ked it not: hee was so ashamed to leaue his  
 Souldiours vnburyed that were slaine. For  
 amongst all other ceremonies obserued in  
 the discipline of their warres, there was none  
 more religiously kept, then the burying of the  
 dead. Hee caused therefore such prisoners as  
 were lately taken, to be called before him:  
 amongst whom there was one expert both of  
 the Greeke and Persian tongue, which shew-  
 ed to the king that he laboured in vaine, if he  
 thought to conueye his armie ouer the tops  
 of those mountaines, which (he said) began at  
 mount Caucasus, and closed in the one side of  
 Persie, by the space of M. vi. C. furlongs in  
 length, and Cxi. in breadth till such time as  
 they come vnto the Sea, which also enclosed  
 the countrey from the place where the moun-  
 taines ceased. The countrey lying at the foote  
 of the mountaines, he described to be plaine,  
 fruitfull, and replenished with manie faire  
 cities and Villages, and that the Riuer of  
 Araxes running thorough the same, fallth  
 into another riuer called Medus, bringing  
 with it the waters of many small streames.  
 Which riuer of Medus being much lesse then

the

the same which it dooth receiue, runneth from thence toward the South sea. No place could be more abundant of grasse: for euery where nere vnto the water, the ground was couered ouer with flowers. The riuer was shadowed ouer with Platane & Popler trees, which by reason they stand somewhat high, and the water runneth lowe in a deepe channell, seeme to such as be a far, to be woods adioyning to the mountaines. He counted no countrey in all Asia to be more holosome, or to haue more temperate ayre then this, both by reason of shadowy mountaines that euermore defendeth the heate, and also of the Sea, which on that part being at hand with a certaine temperature dooth nourish the ground. When the prisoner had made a description of the countrey after this manner, the king enquired of him whether he knew those things by report, or els had seen them with his eyes. He said that he had bene an heardman, and knewe the countrey verie well, and all the passages. And that he had bin twise taken prisoner: once by the Persians in Licia, and now the second time by him. Upon those wordes Alexander called an Oracle to memory, whereby it was signified to him that a Lician should bee his guide into Persia. Therefore promising to him such rewardes as the present necessitie required, and as his estate

estate was meet to receiue, willed him to bee armed after the Macedons manner, and to be their guide to shewe them the way. Which though hee had declared to be but stretch and difficulty: yet Alexander put no doubt to passe it with a small number: thinking it an easie matter to passe the place for glory & perpetuall commendacion that the heardman had passed often times in feeding of his Beastes. Then the Prisoner lest not to alledge the difficulties of the way, specially for such an wearie armour: but the King said to him, take me for surety that neuer one of them that be appointed shal refuse to goe where thou shalt passe. That done he left Craterus with the charge of his Campe, and he himselfe passed forwards with such footmen as were accustomed to his person with those bands of whom Meleager had charge, and with a thousand Archers on horsebacke, taking first order with Craterus, that hee should keepe his campe in such sort as it had bene ordeined before, and cause many fires to be made of purpose, that the enemies might therather thinke him to be there still present: he aduised him further that if hee perceived Ariobarzanes to get knowledge of his enterpryse, and so to send parte of his power to the stopping of this passage, that by pretending of an alliance he should shew all

all the terrour he could to drawe his enemies from him to the defence of that place. But if that he himfelfe fhould deceiue his enemies, and recouer the hill vpon them, that then vpon the hearing of the alarum in the Perſſes campe preparing themſelues to his reſiſtance, he ſhould not doubt to paſſe that waye from which they were repulſed the day before, iudging they ſhould finde no reſiſtance, the enemies being conuerted towards him. In the third watch he ſet forwardes in great ſilence, without blowing of trumpet, and paſſed on by ſuch waye as was ſhewed him by the guide, every ſouldier that was light armed carrying three daies vittaille. But when he was on his way, beſides the wilde rocks and ſharpe ſtones that cauſed them oft to faile their footing, the ſnowe alſo dyuen with the wind, was a great impediment to them in their iourney. For they fell diuers times downe into pits, and ſuch as coueted to pull them out, were oft times drawne after. The night alſo with the countrie vnknowne, and the guide of whoſe ſteliſſie they doubted, encreaſed much their feare: conſidering that if they ſhould not deceiue their enemies watche, they ſhould bee taken like beaſtes. They wyped alſo that both their ſanegarde and the kings lay in the hands of one that was a priſoner. At length they

came

came to a Mountain, where as the way towards Ariobarzanes lay on the right hande. Then he ſent beſore by the guiding of ſuch as they had taken Priſoners, Philotas, Cenon, Amintas, and Policarpon with a bande of the lighteſt armed, whom he aduiſed that ſo far as much as they had both horſemen & footmen, and the countrie fertile and abundant of fodder: that they ſhould make no haſt, but paſſe ſo far as faire and eaſily. And he with the equiers of his bodye, and the band of horſemen that they called Agema, was guided by another by path, farre off from the place where his Enemies kepte their watch. But the paſſage was ſo ſtraight and ſo hollowe, that they ſuffered greate trouble and vexation in paſſing thereof. It was midday, and they were ſo wearied, that of neceſſitye they muſt take reſt, hauinge ſo farre to goe, and as they had trauelled alreadye, ſaying that the way was not ſo difficult nor ſo rough. He reſreſhed therefore his men with meat and with ſleepe, and in the ſecond watch did riſe vp and paſſed the reſt of his iourney without any great difficulty, ſauinge in that parte where the mountain began to fall a ſlope towards the plaine, they paſſage was ſodaynly ſtopped by a greate gul made with violence of the Screames that raine downe the Mountaines, by wearing away

away of the earth. And besides the trees standing so thicke, and the bowes that grewe one within another, appeared before them as a continuall hedge. Then they saw themselves stayed after this manner, such desperation fel amongst them, that they could scarcely absteyn from teares: the darknes being a greater increase of their terroure, seeing they could not enjoy any benefite of the Starres. For if any gaue light, the same was taken away by the shadowe of the trees. And the vse of the eares could not serue for one to receiue counsell and comforte at another, the winde whistled so amongst the leaues, and the shaking of bowes made such a noise. But at length þ day which they so much desired, diminished with his light the terrours that the darkenes of the night did make. For by fetching of a litle compass about they passed the hollow gull, and euery man began to be a guide. Finallye, they got vp in the top of the hill, from whence they might behold their enemies lying in campe. Then the Macedons shewed themselves stoutly in their armour appearing so basely on their backs, when they mistrusted no such thing, and there flew such as came first to encounter with them. So that on the one part the greuous noise of them that were slain, and the miserable howl of such as came in for succour amongst their owne

owne company, put the rest to flight without making any resistance. When the alarme was once heard in the campe where Craterus lay, the armie by and by passed forwardes to goe through the streights, in the which they were repulled the day before. Philotas also with Polipecon, Cenos, and Amintas, which were gone the other way: arrived at the same time, and gaue a further terrour vnto their enemies. When the Persians saw their enemies assailing in al parts at once, though they were so oppressed with their sodaine invasion, that at the first they were in doubt what to do: yet at length they assembled together, and fought notably, necessitie stirring vp the faultnes of their hearts: for oftentimes dispaire is causn of mens good hope. They being informed, closer with them that were armed, and with the weight of their bodies pulled their enemies to the earth, and killed diuers with their owne weapons. Artobazanes with fortye horsemen, and five thousand footmen that kept about his person, brake through the battaile of the Macedons, to the great daunting both of his owne men and of his enemies: and by making of hast, recoiled to Persopolis the chiefe cite of the countrey. But when he was excluded from thence by such as were within, he returned againe the fight with such as were

with

with him and so was slain: by that time Craterus that made all the speere he could deuise was come vnto them, and Alexander fortiffed his campe in the same place, where he did discomfort his enemies. For though they were all fled and he certaine of the victorie, yet because he founde his way stopped in many places with greate and deepe ditches, hee thought good to vse circumspection, and not to make ouer great hast: not so much for feare of his enemies force, as of the nature of the ground, which he saw apt for the to lay ambushments against him. As he was passing forwards, he receiued letters from Tiridates the keeper of Darius treasure, signifying þ the inhabitants of Persopolis hearing of his comming, were about to spoile the treasure, and that therefore he should make hast to preuent the matter, for the way was ready ynough, notwithstanding that the riuer of Araxes was in his way. Ther was no vertue in Alexander more commendable then his celerity, which hee shewed specially in this matter: for leauing his footmen behind, he trauailed all night with his horsemen and by the day light came to the riuer of Araxes, there he founde villages at hande, whereof the timber broken downe off the houses, they made a Bridge in a momente, by the helpe of stones which were layde in the bottome of the  
riuer

riuer. When Alexander was passed the riuer, and came neere vnto the citie, a company met him so miserable, as seeldome haue been found in any memory: the same were Greeces, to the number of fower thousand, whom the Persians before time had taken prisoners, and afflicted with diuers kindes of torments. For of them some had their feet cut off, some their hands, and other their ears, but all were marked in the flesh with hot yrons. The Persians hauing maimed and deformed them after this manner kept and reserued them stil, as a memory of the despite towards the nation. But when they saw that they shoulde become vnder the obedience of another prince, they suffered the Greeces to meet Alexander. They appeared rather to bee the Images of some strange monsters, then of men: for nothinge could be discerned, or knowen in them but their voice. The compassion of their wretched estate, caused the beholders to let fall no fewer teares then they did themselves. For it could not appeare which of them were most miserable, though their afflictions were diuers. But when they had cryed out before Alexander, that Iupiter the reuenger of Greece had opened their eyes in beholding him that shoulde deliuer them, they iudged then all their griefes as one. Alexander wiped the teares from his  
eyes,

eyes, and willed them to be of good cheare, for that they shoulde both see their country and their friends, and he encamped in the same place where he met them, beinge a furlongs from *Persepolis*. The Greekes dree themselves together to consult what was best for them to demaund of Alexander, and when some were of opinion to aske dwelling places within *Asia*, and other had more mynd to returne vnto their countreys: Entimeon Cimeus spake thus vnto them.

Wee that were euen now ashamed to put our heads out of the prison and darknes we were in, to make sure for our owne ayd and reliefe, are become of such symplicitie, that we presently desyre to shew vnto Greece as a pleasant spectable our infirmities and maymes, wherof we haue as much cause to be ashamed, as to be sorowful. You must thinke that such beare their miseries best, which can finde the meanes to hide them most, and that there is none so familiar a country to men that be vnfortunate, as solitarines and forgetfulnes of their former estate. For they which make an account of their friendes pitie and compassion, know not how soone their teares will dry vp: no creatures can loue faithfully whom they abhorre. For as calamitie of his nature is quarrelous, so felicitie is alwayes proude, and euery one doth vse to consyder his owne fortune, when he iudgeth of another mans: For except we had all bin in miserie, one of vs long ago had bin wery of another. What maruaile is it then though men in felicitie

seeke

seeke alwayes their equals? Mine opinion is therefore that we (as men which long ago were as dead in this life) seeke vs a place wherein wee may hide our maimed members, and where as exile may hide our horrible scarres. If wee shall returne into our country, being in this case, how can we but be vngratefull to our wiues whome we maryed young? Or shall our children or our brethren acknowledge vs beinge prison slaues? and though all things should there succede as wee would wish, yet how small a number of vs be able to trauaile through so many countries? How is it possible for vs that be here banished into the vttermost boundes of the Orient, aged, impotent, and maimed, to suffer those things which haue tyred men, that were in force and victorious? It is to bee asked what shall become of our wyues, whome chance and necessitie hath gotten vnto vs heere for the only comfort of our prisonment? What shall we do with our children we haue begotten here, take them with vs, or leaue them behind vs? If we returne with such as we haue here, none of those in Greece wil acknowledge vs: and shal we then be so mad to leaue those comforts we haue already, beinge vncertaine, whether we shall come to those we seeke or no? Verely much better it were for vs, to hide our selues amongst them which haue bin acquainted with vs in our miserie.

These were Entimeon his wordes: But Theatus of *Athens* reasoned to the contrary.

There is no creature (quod he) in whom remaineth any sparke of honestye, that will esteeme vs by our outward shape, seeinge that our calamitie

## The fyfth Booke

is not come of nature, or by our owne deseruing, but through misfortnne, and our enemies cruel-  
tic. Such as bee athamed of fortunes chaunces,  
are well worthy to suffer misaduenture. They  
geue a greuous sentence vpon the estate of mans  
mortalitie, and dispaire much of mercy, that de-  
nye their compassion to men in miserie. Now  
therefore since the Gods haue offered to you the  
thing which ye durst neuer haue wished for: that  
is, your countrey, your wyues, and your children,  
being the things which men esteeme more then  
life, and redeeme often times with death: why do  
you doubt for the enioyment of those things to  
breake out of this imprisonment? I iudge the ayre  
of our owne countrey most naturall to vs, where  
me thinkes is another maner of liuing, other cu-  
stomes, other religion, and another tongue, which  
for the pleasantnes is coueted of the barbarous  
nations. What great things then be those that ye  
would willingly leaue, the want of which only is  
the cause of your misery? My opinion is playne,  
that we visit our countrey and our home, and not  
refuse so great a benefite as Alexander hath pro-  
fered vs. If any be so deteined with the loue of  
such wiues and children as they haue gorten  
heere in seruitude, let such be no impediment to  
others, that of all things esteeme most their natu-  
rall countrey.

There were but fewe of his opinion: for  
custome that is of greater force than nature,  
preuailed in that matter. They agreed to de-  
maund of Alexander the gift of some place  
to inhabit in, and there chose out an hundred  
to be suters vnto him in that behalfe. When  
Alexander

Alexander perceyued them comming to-  
wardes him, thinking that they would haue  
required the thing that he conceived in his  
mynde sayd:

I haue appoynted to euery one of you (quoth  
he) beasts to cary you, and a thousand Deniers,  
and when you shall come to Greece, I wil so much  
prouide for you, that excepting your misfortune,  
no other shall thinke themselues in better case  
then you.

But when he saw them looke still towards  
the ground, and that they neyther lifted vp  
their eyes, nor spake one word, he enquired  
the cause of their heauines. Then Entymeon  
rehearsed againe those things in effect which  
he had spoken before in counsaile. The King  
therefore pitying no lesse their demaund, then  
he did their misfortune, commaunded iii. M.  
deniers to be giuen to euery one of them, and  
garments besides, with cattell and corne,  
whereby they might till and sow the land that  
should be appointed vnto them. The next  
day he assembled all the Captaines of his ar-  
my together, and shewed them that there  
was no Citie more enemy to the Greekes,  
then the same that was the chiefe seate of the  
auncient Kings of Persie, from whence al the  
great armies had bin sent into Greece: and  
how Darius first and after Xerxes had come  
out of that place to moue their vniust warre

against *Europe*, with the destruction of which citie, he thought good to reuenge their predeceffours. The inhabiteurs had abandoned the citie, and fledde where feare did driue them. Whereupon the king streightwayes brought in all his footemen to the spoile thereof. He had before that time woon many cities: some by force, & some by composition, that were full of riches, & princes treasure. But the abundance of that citie did exceed all the rest, as in the place where the *Persians* had layd the whole substance. Golde and siluer was there found in heapes, and great plenty of rich vestures and furnishings of houses, not only for necessitie & necessary vse, but for excesse and ostentation: which was so great, that it gaue the victors occasion to fight amongst themselves, each taking other for enemies that had gotten the richest spoile. The plenty there was such, that they could not employ to their vse the riches they founde, but when they sawe things of value, esteemed them rather then tooke them away: till such time as euery one coneting to haue a part of euery thing, tare & brake asunder the princely robes, & the precious plate of curious workmanship, with the images of golde & siluer, which were either beaten in gobets, or plucked in peeces, as euery one caught holde: nothing was left untouched,

touched, nor nothing caried away whole: cruelty bearing no lesse rule there then couetousnes, euery one was so loaden with golde and siluer, that they esteemed not the keeping of prisoners, but killed such as they first spared in hope of gaine. There were many therefore prevented their enemies hands with voluntary death, & diuers by clothing themselves in their most precious apparell, leaped down from the walls with their wives & children. Certaine there were that set their owne houses on fire, (which they iudged their enemies would else haue done shortly after) because they would burne themselves amongst their owne family. At length the *King* did forbid any violence to be done to women, & that no man should meddle with any thing pertaining to them. The sum of money taken within this citie, was greater then any man could well credite: but eyther we must doubt of the rest, or else beleue that hath bin left in memory, how that the treasure there found, amounted to a C. and xx. M. Talents: which treasure, because *Alex.* purposed to employ in his wars, caused horse & camels be brought from *Sus* & *Babylon* to cary the same. The taking of the Citie of *Persagadis*, wherein was found vi. M. talents, was an increase to this sum, which citie being built by *Cyrus*, was yelded by *Gobares* the

keeping thereof. Alexander left in the Castle of *Persepolis* iii. *M.* Macedons in guarison, vnder Nicarides Captayne of the same, and reserved to Tiridates that deliuered him the treasure, the same honour that hee enioyed with Darius. Leauing in this citie the greater part of his army, with his cariages vnder the rule of Parmenio & Craterus: he with a *M.* horsemen, and a band of footemen, without any baggage, went to visit in the winter season the inward parts of *Perse*. There hee was vexed and troubled with stormes & tempests that were in maner intollerable: but yet he letted not to go forwarde in his enterpryse to the place that he appoynted. In his iourney he came vnto a countrey that was couered all with snowe, and frozen by force of the great colde. The wildenes and desert maner thereof, put the souldiers that were wried with trauaile in such a feare and terrour, that they imagined to haue seene the vttermoost bounds of the world, For when they beheld all things waste, and no signe appearing of mans habitation, they were amased, and made request to returne againe, before that the light & the elements should fayle them. The King would not chastise them being in his terrour, but leaped from his horse, & went on foote in the snow and the yce: Which thing when his friends

friends sawe, they could not for shame but followe: then the capitaines did the like, and finally the souldiers. The king was the first that did breake the yce and made himsele a waye, whose ensample the rest did follow: At length hauing passed the woods that were without waye, they founde here and there some appearance of habitation, and perceyued flockes of sheepe. When the inhabitoures that dwelled in cottages disparkled thereabouts sawe men coming, whome they iudged to be their enemies, thinking they had bene enclosed about, slew such as were not able to follow them, and fled to the wilde mountaines that were full of snowe. But at length by communication with such as they tooke prisoners, their wildenesse was somewhat mitigated, and they yeelded themselves to Alexander, whome he hurted not any kinde of waye. When he had destroyed all that parte of *Perse*, and brought the townes vnder his obedience: he came into the countrey of the warlike *Mardons*, which differ much from the rest of the other *Persians* in their manner of liuing. They with their wines and children did inhabite within caues in the mountaines, and liued with the flesh of sheepe, and wilde beasts. Nor the women according to their kinde had any more appearance of meeknesse or mildenesse then the men, either in their perso.

perfonages or difpofitions. But their curled beare did hang down before vpon their faces, and their garments came but to their knee. The bandes of their Skirts were fillets for their foreheads, which they vfed both for ornament, and for defence. This nation for all their vnciuill and rude maner, could not escape to be subdued with the fame force of fortune that others were. So that the xxx. day after he departed from *Perſepolis*, he returned thither againe. Then he gaue rewards to his friends, and to all the reſt according to their deſeruing, diſtributing in manner all the riches which he found within that Citie. But all his excellent vertues of the minde, his princely qualities, wherein he excelled all kings, both that conſtancie in all daungers & perils, that celeritie in deuifing and performing his enterpriſes, his promiſe keeping towards the yelded, his clemencie towards priſoners, & that temperaunce in lawfull and accuſtomable pleaſures, were all defaced through the intolerable deſire and delight he had in drinking. For notwithstanding that his enemy which contended with him for the empire did chiefly then prepare for the warres, and was gathering of his power together: and although the people newly conquered, had not yet received quiet ſubiectiō: yet he gave himſelfe continually

ually to feaſting and banquetting, where women were euer preſent, not ſuch to whome men had reſpect of honeſty, but harlots, which had there more libertie, then was beſeeming in the company of men of war. Amongſt theſe there was one *Thais*, who vpon a day in her drunkenneſſe, affirmed to *Alexander*, that he ſhould wonderfully winne the fauour of the Greekes, if he would commaund the palaice of *Perſepolis* to be ſet on fire. The deſtruction whereof (ſhe ſayd) they greatly deſired, for ſo much as the ſame was the chiefe ſeate of the Kings of *Perſe*, which in times paſt had deſtroyed ſo many great Cities. When the drunken harlot had giuen her ſentence, there were other preſent, who being likewiſe drunken, confirmed her words. *Alexander* then that had in him more inclination of heate then of patience, ſaid: Why do we not then reuenge Greece, and ſet this citie on fire? They were all chaſed with drinking, and roſe immediatly vpon thoſe words to burne that citie in their drunkenneſſe, which the men of warre had ſpared in their fury. The King himſelfe firſt, and after his geaſtes, his ſeruants, and his concubynes ſet ſpyer in the palaice, which beeing builded for the moſt part of Cedar trees, became ſodainly in a flame. When the army was encamped nere vnto the citie ſaw the fire which

which they thought had beene kindled by some casualtie, came running to quench the same againe. But when they saw the king there present nourishing the fire, they powred downe the water which they brought, and helped likewise the matter forwards. Thus the Palace that was the head of the whole Orient, from whence so many nations before had fetched their lawes to live vnder, the seate of so many kinges, the onely terrour sometime of Greece, the same that hath beene the sender forth of the Nauies of ix. M. ships, and of the armies that ouerflowed all Europe, that made bridges ouer the Sea, & undermined mountains where the Sea hath now his course: was consumed and had his end, and neuer rose againe in all the age that did ensue. For the kings of Macedon vsed other citie, which be now in the Persians hands. The destruction of this citie was such, that the foundation thereof at this day could not be found, but that the river of Araxes dooth shew where it stood, which was distant from Persepolis xx. furlong, as the inhabitants rather do beleue then know. The Macedons were ashamed that so noble a citie was destroyed by their king in his drunkenness: but at length it was turned into an earnest matter, and were content to thinke it expedient that the citie should haue beene destroyed after

after that manner. But it is certaine, that when Alexander had taken his rest, and was become better aduised, he repented him of his dooing and said: That the Persians should haue doone the Greekes more harme, if it had beene his chaunce to haue reigned in Zerxes stead. The next day he gaue xxx. Talents for a reward to him that was his guide into Persie, and from thence he tooke his iourney into Media, where a new supplye of Souldiours (of whom Plato of Athens had the conducti- on) came to him out of Cilicia, being v. C. footemen and a thousand horsemen. When he had by this meanes encreased his power, he determined to pursue Darius, who was come to Ecathana the head citie of Media, and was purposed from thence to haue passed into Bactria. But fearing to be prevented by the speed of his enemyes made, altered his purpose and his iourney. Alexander was not come neere him by a M. v. C. furlongs, but he could not thinke any distance sufficient to defend him against his celeritie, and therefore prepared himselfe rather to fight then to flie. He had with him xxx. M. footemen, amongst whom there were iiii. M. Greekes whose fidelitie neuer fayled in all his aduerser fortune. He had also iiii. M. Archers and Slingers, besides iiii. M. iii. C. Bactrian horsemen, which were vnder Bessus charge

to you by the honor of our predecessors, that with such fame and glory possessed the kingdoms of the whole Orient, by those men to whome Macedon somtime was tributary, by so many nauies of ships sent into Greece, and by so many victories wonne, that ye will take such courage and hart vnto you, as may seeme worthy your nobilitie and your nation. So that with the same constancie of minde wherewith yee haue endured things past, yee will prooue and attempt whatsoeuer fortune send to hereafter. I am resolu'd for my part to get my self perpetual fame either by the victory, or by the notable aduenture I will giue for the winning therof. When Darius had spoken these words, the representation of the present perill so mased the all, that they were not able to shew their aduice, or to speake a word to the matter, till such time as Artabazus the most auncient of his friends (which before time had been with king Philip) began to say his fantasie.

We are come into the field (quod he) with you that is our King, in our most precious apparell, and richest armour, with the intent to winne the victorie: and if necessitie require, not to refuse death.

To whose wordes all the rest with their voice seemed to agree sauing Nabarzanes, who being present in that counsell with Bessus, and of his opinion, conspired a treason so woonderfull, that the like hath sildome bin heard of before. Their determination was by force of the Souldiers they had vnder their charge, to put their king in holde, with this purpose, that if

Alex.

Alexander pursued them, to deliuer him then aliue into his hands to win thereby his fauour, as a thing which they thought hee would esteeme greatly. But if they could escape conueniently, then they were in miste to kill Darius, and deuiding the kingdome betwixt them, renue againe the war against the Macedons. They hauing imagined this treason long before in their mindes, Nabarzanes thought this an occasion to make a preparatiue to his wicked intent, by a perswasion which he there uttered.

I know (quod he) that I shall speake the thing which in the first appearance shall not be gratefull vnto your eares: but Physicions vse to cure diseases that be great, with sharp and bitter medicines. And the ship masters when they feare a shipwrack, accustome to redeeme such things as may be saued, with the destruction and losse of the rest. Yet this matter that I meane is no perswasion to losse, but a deuise by what meanes yee may preserue your self & your kingdom. We make a warre wherein the gods seeme manifestly to be against vs, and fortune ceaseth not obstinately to pursue vs. It is needfull therefore that we lay new foundations, and seeke out men which haue other fortune. My opinion is therefore, that you deliuer vp your kingdome vnto some mans hands which shall haue the name of king, so long as your enemies remain within Asia. And when they be once departed (which my minde giueth me to be shortly) he shall restore the same vnto you againe. The countrey of Bactria is yet vntouched, the Indians

Q

and

## The fyfth Booke

The Persians encamped by themselves, and Bessus remained amongst the Bactrians, practising to carry away the Persians into Bactria, and to leaue Darius: signifieng to them the richesse of that region yet vntouchen, & the perill they were in, if they remained still. But they were all in manner of one opinion, that it was euer great an offence for them to forsake their prince. In the meane season Artabasus executed the kings office, & went amongst the Persians in their lodgings, admonishing and exhorting them, sometime apart, and otherwhile altogether, and would neuer leaue them, before it appeared that they would not as the king would haue them. That done with great paine and difficultie he perswaded Darius to take his meat, and to set his minde vpon his busines. But Bessus and Nabarzanes were so greedy to get the gouernement into theyr hands, that they resolued to put in execution the thing they had long conspired betwixt them. For so long as Darius was in saueguard, they could not hope to compasse nor attaine so great power and authoritie: the maiestie of a King is had in so great veneration amongst those nations: at whose onely name they assemble together, and the reuerence vsed to them in their prosperitie, cause men to shew them the

like obedience in aduersitie. The greatnes & power of the countries whereof Bessus and Nabarzanes had the rule, not being inferior to any other nations in that part of the world, either in men, in furniture, or largenes of their territorie, gaue a great encourage vnto their wicked dispositions in attempting of this matter. For they possessing the third part of Asia, were able to make as great number of men, as Darius before had lost. In confidence wherof they not onely despised Darius, but Alexander himselfe, purposing when they were once become Lordes of that country, to reenforce from thence againe the power of the Empire, & maintaine the wars against the Macedons. When they had long deuised and debated these things, they determined to take Darius by the Bactrian soldiers, of whom they had the rule, and then to send word to Alexander that they reserued him on liue, to deliuer him vnto his handes. And if so be that Alexander should not accept their doing, which indeed they doubted, then their purpose was to kill Darius, and with their power to flee into Bactria. But forso much as they saw that Darius could not be taken openly, seeing there were so many thousands ready to aide him: and fearing also the fidelity of the Greokes, determined to

The fyfth Booke

wozke by sleight, the thing that they could not  
bring to passe by force. Their deuise was to  
counterfeit a repentance of their former doo-  
ings, in excusing vnto the king the feare they  
were in. And in the meane season they sent  
certaine to practise with the Persians, and to  
prooue their mindes. The souldiers were tol-  
led too and fro with hope and feare. Some-  
time they thought that by leauing of their la-  
they should commit themselves to manifest  
ruine and destruction: & againe they remem-  
bered what enterainment was promised the  
in Bactria that lay open for them, where they  
should be receaued with such giftes and riches  
as they could not well imagine. Whiles Bes-  
sus and Nabarzanes were beating of these  
things in their heads, Artabazus came vnto  
them, declaring how Darius was well pacifi-  
ed, and that they might if they would, be in the  
same estate and degree with him that they  
were in before. Thereupon they fell to wee-  
ping and purging of themselves, requiring  
Artabazus that he would take vpon him the  
defence of their cause, and carrie their request  
and submission vnto the king. The night was  
consumed in this kinde of busines. When it  
was daye Nabarzanes with the Bactrian  
souldiers stode at the entrey of the kings  
lodging, colouring his priate treason with a  
solemne

solemne pretence of doing his dutie. Darius  
caused warning to be giuen for his remooue,  
and so mounted vpon his chariot after his ac-  
customed manner. Nabarzanes and the other  
traitors fell vpon the ground to worchip him,  
and shed teares in token of repentance, not-  
withstanding that they determined shortlye  
after to put him in fetters: mens nature is so  
apt to dissimulation. Darius being of a simple  
and gentle nature, was enforced throught their  
behaviour not onely to beleue that they pre-  
tended, but also caused him to weepe for ioye:  
yet that could not cause the traitors to alter  
their purpose, when they perceiued what kind  
of man, and what manner of Prince they  
went about to deceiue. Darius doubting no-  
thing of his perrill that was nexte at hande,  
made all the hast he could to escape Alexan-  
der, whom he onely doubted. Patron that  
was capitaine of the Grecians, commaunded  
his souldiers to put on theyr harneys, which  
they carried before in trusses, and to be ready  
and attend to euery thing that should be ap-  
pointed them. For he vnderstanding the trea-  
son y<sup>e</sup> Bessus went about, followed the kings  
chariot, seeking occasion to speake with him.  
And Bessus doubting the same thing, would  
not depart frō the chariot, but followed rather  
as a watch, then a waiter. Patron therefore

hauing carryed long, and interrupted oftentimes as he was about to speake, stood in a stay betwixt feare and fidelitie, beholding the king in the face. When Darius perceined that he beheld him after that manner, he wil-  
leo Bubace his Eunuche that rode next him to enquire of Patron if he had any thing to say to him. Patron sayd yea: but his matter was such as he would no man should heare. Then he was willed to come neere, and without any interpreter (Darius vnderstanding somewhat of the Greeke tongue) Patron sayd vnto him.

Sir, of fiftie thousand Greekes that serued you, there is a small number of vs remaining which haue continually followed you in all fortunes, bearing vnto you the same fidelitie and affection that we did in your most flourishing estate. And are determined wheresoeuer you be, to take that for our cuntry and home: both prosperitie and aduerlitie hath so coupled vs together. By which inuincible fideliry that is in vs, I desire you, and require you, that you would vouchsafe to lodge within our campe, and suffer vs to be the guard of your person. Wee haue lost Greece, we haue no Bactria to go vnto, all our hope is in you, and God graunt that all other men had the like. It is not necessarie I should speake any more, nor would not demand the custody of your person being an alien and a straunger, if I knew that others were well minded towards you.

Although Bessus was ignorant of the Greeke tongue,

tongue, yet his conscience pricked him to beleue that Patron had disclosed some such matter, and therefore carrying away some part of his wordes, by a Greeke interpretour, became out of doubt. Darius nothing afraid as it appeared by his countenance, enquired of Patron, what moued him to giue him such aduise: Wherevpon he thought not good to defer it any longer, but sayd: Bessus and Nabarzanes worke treason against you, so that your life and your estate stand in extreme perill, and this day shall be the last either to the traitours, or to you. Whose wordes, if Darius had well wayed and regarded, Patron had receyued great glory of the preservation of his Prince. But let them mock that lyst, which be perswaded that the state of man is gouerned at aduenture and by chaunce: but I beleue that euery man runneth his race by an immutable order, and an euerlasting appointment, by a knitting together of causes baknowne appoynted long before. Darius answered was:

That although the fidelitie of the Greeke souldiers was sufficiently knowen vnto him, yet hee was determined neuer to depart from his owne nacion, by whome, though hee might be deceyued, yet it was hard for him to mistrust them: whatsoeuer should chance to him he sayd, he was minded rather to suffer it amongst his owne subjects, then to part away from them, not desiring to liue,

predeterminate to his chaunce, could not beare them any wholesome counsell, nor sought for any help in that case, but embraced Artabafus as though he should neuer see him more, and being wet with the teares that one of them let fall vpon another, caused Artabafus to be remoued frō him, and because he would not see his sorow in departing from him, he couered his face, and fel flat vpon the ground. Then such as were accustomed to the guard of his person, which should haue been his defence in all perils, fled away, thinking themselves ouerweake for such a number of armed men as they supposed to be coming. Then there was great solitarines within his lodging: for none remained about the King but a few Eunuchs, that had no place to repaire vnto. Then hee debated and deuised with himselfe alone, sometime one thing, and sometime another: and by and by he waxed weary of that solitarines which before hee tooke for a comfort, and called Bubace vnto him, whome he beheld and sayd:

Go prouide for your selues, which according to your duties haue been true to your Prince till the last houre. Heere I do tarye for the fatall lawe of my destiny. Peraduenture ye do maruaile that I do not end mine own life. I had rather dy through other mens wickednesse, then by mine owne.

After those words, Bubace filled both the  
kings

kings lodging, and also the whole campe with mourning and lamentation, and diuers brake into the place where Darius was, & tearing their clothes, bewailed his case with a great lamentation. When the crye came vnto the *Persians*, they were so amased for feare, that they durst neither put on their armour, least they might geue occasion to the *Bactrians* to set vpon them, nor they could not remayne quiet, least they might seeme so wickedly to leaue their king. There were clamours throughout the camp of diuers sorts & tunes, without any head, and without any appoyntment. Such as pertained to Nabarzanes and Bessus, deceyued by such lamentation as they heard, brought tidings to the rest, that the King had killed himselfe. Whereupon they repaired thither so fast as they could gallop, & such followed after, as they had chosen to be ministers of their mischief. When they were entered into the kings pavilion, because the Eunuchs declared that he was on liue, they commanded him to be bound. Thus he which before was carped in a chariot, and honoured of his men like a God, was made prisoner by his owne seruantes without any forcine power, and put into a wyle cart couered ouer with beasts skinned: and spoile was made of the kings stufte, in such sort, as if it had bin taken

taken in the wars. And when they had laden themselves with the pray gotten after so foule a manner, they conueied themselves into their cottreys. But Artabafus with those of whose he had the charge, & with the Greeke souldiers, tooke the way towards *Parthina*, thinking to be moze sure any where, then in the fellowship of those traitours. The *Persians* whose Bessus had burdened with so many faire promises, specially because they had no other mā to follow, ioined themselves to the *Bactrians*, & the third day overtoke them. But to the intent Darius should not want such honoz as was due to his estate, Bessus caused him be bound with golden fetters: such were the despites that his fortune made him subiect vnto. And for that he should not be knowne by his apparcell, they couered the cart with foule hides of beasts, & caused unknowen men to drue it forwards. And lest by inquirie in the army he might be discouered, such as had the charge of him folowed a farre off. When Alexander heard that Darius was remoued to *Ecbatane*, he left the way that he was in, and with all the speed he could make, folowed after Darius that was said to be gone into *Mesdia*. But when Alexand. was come to *Taba*, which is the chiefe Citie of *Parataccu*, it was there shewed him by fugitiues that came out of

of Darius camp, how he was fled w<sup>th</sup> al speede into *Bactria*: & after ward vnderstood y<sup>e</sup> matter moze certainly by Bagistenes of *Babilon*, who could not say directly that Darius was vsed as a prisoner, but said that either he was in danger of death, or of captiuitie. Alexander vpon those news called his Captaines together, & shewed them that he had a great enterpryse, but such one as the trauaile was very short. Darius (he said) was not far off, forsaken of his own men, & either taken as a prisoner, or els slain. In whose person he shewed the whole victorie to consist, & the greatnes of y<sup>e</sup> matter to be a reward sufficiēt of their hast making. They all cried with one voice, y<sup>e</sup> they were ready to folow him where he would go, & that he shuld not spare their labour nor their peril. Whereupon he conueyed his army forwards with marueilous speed, rather in post, then after y<sup>e</sup> cōmon order of marching, neither resting day nor night, til they passed v. C. furlongs, & come to y<sup>e</sup> village where Darius was taken. There Melon, Darius interpretour, who by reason of his sickness could not folow the army, was taken through Alexanders celerity, who fearing that he fled from his master, declared the whole matter: but how great soeuer his desire was to ouertake his enemies, it was necessary for him to giue his mē rest of their

their trauaile: so that determining to leaue the rest of his armie behinde, did choose out sixe thousand hozsemen, and added to them iiii. C. called Dimichas that were footmen, hea- uie harnised, but yet riding on horseback, and when the matter and place required, lighted and fought on foote. When Alexander was taking order about these things: Orsellus & Mithracenes, which for the hatred they bare to Bessus for his treason, fled from him, decla- ring to the king that the Persians were but v. C. furlongs off, and profered to guide him by a nicher way. Their conning was grate- full to the king: for by their conduction in the beginning of the night, he tooke his iourney with such hozsemen as he had appointed, wil- ling his foote battaile to follow after with all speed possible. Hee marched forwarde in a square battaile, and kept such an order, that the first might ioine with the last, and such as came behind relieued them that went before. When they had passed ccc. furlongs on their waye, Broculus the sonne of Mazeus that sometime had beene gouernoz of Siria, met Alexander, and declared that Bessus was within two hundred furlongs, marching with his men out of all order, as one that did cast no doubts. It seemed to him (he said) that they went towards Pircania: wherefore if

haste

haste were made, they might soone be ouer- taken, and found disperced here and there out of all aray. And by reason he affirmed also that Darius was yet aliue: Alexander that was hote before in his pursute, was with his words much more prickd forwards, so that he caused them to put spurres to their hozses, and passed forwards a gallop going so farre- forth, that they might heare the noyse of their enemies as they marched. But the dust that did rise, dimmed their sight: and therefore he stayed awhile till the dust was vanished a- way. Then both Bessus perceiued the Mace- dons, and they saw the Persians as they fled. Notwithstanding they had not bin able to haue matched with them, if Bessus had had as great courage to fight, as he had to betray his maister. For besides that they exceeded the Macedons in number and power, they were- wried and sore trauailed, should haue had to do with them that were lusty and fresh. But the name of Alexander and his fame, which is of great moment euer in the warres, put them in such feare, that they could not stay themselues. Then Bessus & other that were partners of the conspiracy, came to the cart where Darius was, and perswaded him to leap on horseback, and flye from his enemies that were at hand. But he crying out that the

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Gods were come to his reuenge, and calling for the assistance of Alexander, said: that in no wise he would go with traytours: where-with they were so stirred to wrath, that they threw darts at him, and left him wounded in many places of his body. They thrust in the beasts that drew the cart, to the intent they should not be able to passe forwards, and slew his two seruants that did wait vpon him. When they had committed this act, they thought it expedient to disperse themselves in their flying. And so Nabarzanes took his way to *Hircania*, & Bessus to *Bactria*. With a few horsemen that each of them had in their company. When their souldiours were forsaken of their captaines, they scattered here and there, where hope and feare did leade them. There were only v. C. horsemen which assembled themselves together, and stood in a manner doubting whether it were better to resist or to flye. Alexander vnderstanding the feare his enemies were in, sent Nicanor before with part of his horsemen to keepe them occupied, & he with the rest followed after. There were slaine to the number of iii. M. of such as stood at their defence, and the rest were driuen in flocks like beasts: from killing of whome Alexander commaunded his men to abstaine. Amongst all the prisoners there was none y

was

was able to shew the Cart that caryed Darius: for euery one was so desirous to fynde him, that as they saw any Cart, they sought him therein: and yet they could perceiue by no meanes where he was become. Alexander made such haste, that scarcely iii. M. horsemen followed him of all his number: but the great number of the *Persians* fell into their laps & followed behinde. It is scarcely credible to be beleued, that there should be more prisoners taken, then there were men to take the. But fortune in that feare had so taken away their sense, that they could not consider their owne multitude, nor the small number of their enemies. In the meane season the beasts y drew Darius wagon, hauing no man to gouerne them, were swarued out of the high way, and wandering heere and there, had drawen Darius iiii. furlongs frō the place where he was wounded, into a valley where they fainted, by reason of their heate & their hurts. There was a spring at hand, which certaine y knew the countrey had shewed to *Polistratus* a *Macedon*, that was overcome for thirst. And whiles he was drinking water out of his helmet, he spied the beasts that were thrust in with darts, and maruelling that they were not rather caryed away, then hurt after that manner: hee looked and found in the foule

cart the body of a man halfe aliue, and at length perceyued it was Darius that lay there soze wounded, & drawing of hys breath. Then Polistratus brought to him a Persian whome he had taken prisoner. Whome when Darius knew by his voice, to be of his countrey, sayd: that he tooke it for a comfort of his present fortune, that he should speake before he died to one that vnderstoode him, and not vtter his last wordes in vaine. He required him to declare vnto Alexander,

That though he had neuer deserued any thing at his hands, yet it was his chaunce to dye greatly his debtour, and had thanks to geue him, for the fauour and goodnes that he had shewed towards his mother, his wife, and his children, to whome he had not only graunted life, but also the reuerence of their former estate and dignitie, whereas he of his kinsmen and frends, to whome he had geuen both life and lands, was now by them bereaued of all. He prayed therefore that he might alwayes be victor, and that the Empire of the whole world might come into his hands, requiring that he would not neglect to take reuengement of so foule an act, not only for his cause, but for example and the loue of other princes, which should be a thing honourable vnto him, and profitable in time comming.

When he had spoken these wordes, he fainted, and calling for water, after he had dronke, sayde to Polistratus that presented it vnto him:

What-

Whatsoever thou art, this is vnto me the last misery in all my aduerse chaunce, that I am not able to requite thee this benefit. But Alexander shall reward thee, and the Gods shall requite him for his great humanitie and clemencie shewed towards mine. Vnto whome in my behalfe thou shalt geue my hand as pledge of a kings promise. And hauing spoken these wordes, and geuen Polistratus his hand, he died. When his sayings were reported to Alexander, he repaired where the dead corps lay, and there bewailed with teares, that it was his chaunce to dye a death so vnworthy for so great an estate, and taking off his owne cloke to couer the dead corps withall, adorne the same with all things that pertayned to a King, and sent it to his mother Sifigambis to be buried, in such sort as the countrey maner was to bury Kings, and to be layd amongst the rest of his predecessours.

*Heere the first part of the sixt booke doth want, wherein was conteined the cause of the warre betwixt the Lacedemonians and Macedons: with the preparacion of both nacions to the battayle that was fought betwixt Antipater Alexanders lieutenannt in Macedonia, and the king of the Lacedemonians.*

preuayling vpon other. But the streightnes of the place wherin they fought, did not suffer them to ioyne with their whole force at once: for more were beholders then fighters, & such as stood without daunger, encouraged the other with their crie. At length the Lacedemonians began to faint, & scarcely able for sweating to sustaine their armor, began to drawe backe, to haue the more libertie to flee from their enemies that pleased sore vpon them. When they were once broken and scattered abroad, the victorours pursued after. And passing the place wherupon the Lacedemonians battaile was first aranged, made a sore pursute vpon Agis: who seeing his men fleeing, & his enemies approach at hand, willed his men to set him downe: where stretching himselfe, to feele if the force of his body could answer vnto his hart, when he founde himselfe vnable to stand, remayning vpon his knees put on his helmet, and couering his body with his target, shaked his speare, & prouoked his enemies to draw neere, if any were desirous of his spoile: but there was not one that pressed neere him, but did cast darts a far off, which he alway took & threw at his enemies againe, till such time as he was thrust into the bare brest with a speare. But when the same was pulled out of the wound, he fainted, & bowing himselfe

himselfe vpon his Target, shortly after fell downe dead, bloud and life failing both together. There were slaine of the Lacedemonians v. M. iii. C. xl. and of the Macedons not passing iii. C. But there was scarcely any of them that escaped vnwounded. This victorie brake the hearts not onely of the Lacedemonians & of their confederats, but also of other which lay in waite looking for the successe of that warre. Antipater was not ignorant how the countenances of such as did gratifie his victorie, differed much from the intentes of their hearts: but desirous to finish the warres that was begun, perceiued it necessary for him to dissemble and suffer him selfe to be deceived. And though he reioyled much in the fortune of the thing, yet he feared the enuie that might ensue therof, being a greater matter then the estate of a Lieutenant did beare. For Alexander was of such a nature, that he desired that his enemies had won the victorie, shewing manifestly that he was not contented with Antipaters good successe: thinking that what honour so euer chanced to any other mā, was a derogation to his owne glory. Antipater therefore which knewe full well his stomacke, durst not vse the victorie according to his owne will, but assembled a councell of Greekes, to aduise what they thought expedient.

brought in to such kind of pastimes. And therefore being demanded what she was: she shewed her selfe to bee the neece of Occhus that lately reigned in Perse, and the wife of Histaspis, which was Darius kinsman, and had been his lieutenant ouer great armiees. There yet remained in the kings heart some small sparkes of his former vertue. For in respect of her estate, being come of a Kings blood, & the reuerence he bare to such a name, as the Neece of Occhus, commaunded her not onely to be set free, but also to be restored to her goods and her husband, whom he willed to be sought out. The next day he appointed Ephestion to bring all the prisoners vnto the court, where inquiring of the nobilitie of euery one, commaunded them which were descended of noble blood, to bee seuered from the rest, amongst whom they found Oxatres brother to Darius, that was no lesse noble of minde then of blood. There was made of the last spoile xxvi. M. talents, whereof xii. M. were consumed in rewards amongst the men of warre: and the summe amounted to no lesse value that was conueyed away by them that had the keeping thereof. There was one Oxidates a noble man of Perse, that was put in prison by Darius, & appointed to suffer death, whom Alexander deliuered, and gaue vnto him

him the seignorie of *Media*, and receiued Darius brother amongst the number of his friends, reseruing to him all the accustomed honoz of his nobility. Then they came to the countrey of *Parthenia*, then being but obscure and unknown: but now the head of all those countreys which lye vpon *Tigre & Euphrates*, and be bounded with the red sea. This countrey being frutefull and boundant of all things, was taken by the *Scythians*, which possessing part of *Asia* and *Europe*, be troublous neighbours to them both. The *Scythians*, which inhabit vpon the *Bospheron* sea, are ascribed to be in *Asia*. And such as be in *Europe* possesse y countreys lying on the left of *Thrace* so farre as *Boristhenes*: and from thence right forth so far as the riuer *Thanais*, that parteth *Europe & Asia*. It is certaine y the *Scythes*, of whom the *Persians* be descended, came not fro *Bospheron*, but out of *Europe*. There was a noble Citie in those dayes called *Hecatonphilos* builded by the *Greeks*, where *Alexander* remayned with his army, conueying vittales thether from all partes. Amongst the souldiers lying there in idlenes, there rose sodeinly a rumour, entered into their heads without any certaine autour or beginning. The rumoz was, both that *Alexander* satisfied with the acts he had done, purposed immediately

mediatly to retorne into *Macedon*. This fame was not so soone solwen abroad, but that they ran like mad men to their lodgings, and trussed vp their baggage and their stuffe: making such preparation to depart, that euery man iudged warning had been geuen to remoue, and that the thing had been done by appointment. The tumult that did ryle in the campe by lading of cariages, and by the calling the one made vnto another, came vnto the kings eares. This rumour obtained the sooner credit, by the dispatch of certaine Greeke souldiers, whome Alexander had dismissed into their countrey, with the gift of vi. M. deniers to euery horseman: thereupon taking occasion to think that the war had bin at an end. Alexander, whose purpose was to passe into *India*, and the vttermost bounds of the *Orient*, was no lesse afraid of this matter then the case required. And therefore calling before him his captaines of his army, with the teares in his eyes, made a great complaint vnto them, that in the middle course of his glory he should thus be pulled back, and compelled to retorne into his countrey rather as a man vanquished then as a victor. Which misfortune, he said, he could not impute to his souldiers, nor iudge that their cowardnes did giue impedimēt to his proceedings, but that it was only

only the enuy of the Gods that put so sodaine a desire of their countrey into the myndes of valiant men, which within a while should haue returned with greater glory & fame. Thereupon they all promised to trauaile in reformation of the matter, offering themselves in all things (were they neuer so difficult) to do as he would haue them. And they promised also, the obedience of the souldiers, if so be that he would make some gentle and apt oration to pacifie them, which were neuer yet seene depart from him in any desperatiō or disturbance of mind, if they once beheld the cherefulness of his countenance, & the courage proceeding from his hart. He promised so to do, and required at their hand to prepare in the multitude an aptnes to giue him eare. When all things were prepared which were thought expedient for the purpose, he assembled all his army together, and made this Oration vnto them. When ye consider (my souldiours) the greatnes of the actes which ye haue done, and the manyfold conquests that yee haue made, it is no maruaile at all, that ye be enclined to quietnes, and fully satisfied with fame, & glory. For leauing to speake of the Illirians, and Triballes, of Boetia, Thracia, and Sparta, of the Acheians, and Peloponensians, whome I haue subdued, part in person, and the rest by appoyntment: I will not make rehearsal of the war we began at Hellespont, & how we deliuered from seruitude of the barbarous nations Ionas, & Acolides, & got vnto our possession

Caria,

Caria, Ledia, Cappadocia, Phrigia, Paphlagonia, Pamphilia, Pisides, Cilicia, Siria, Phenices, Armenia, Perse, Mede, and Parthema. We haue gotten more countreys then other haue taken Citties: and yet (I am sure) the multitude haue caused me to leaue some of them vnrehearsed. If I could thinke that the possession of these landes that wee haue conquered in so shorte time could remaine sure vnto vs: then (my souldiours) I would, though it were against your wils, breake from you to visit my house and my home, to see my mother, my sisters, and my countrey men, to enioye there the laude & glory that I haue gotten with you: where as the ioyfull conuersation of our wiues, our children and parents, peace, quietnes, and a sure possession of things gotten through our valiantnesse do tarrie for vs, as large rewards of our victorie. But if wee will confesse the truth, this new Empire which we haue not yet at commaundement, but is kept as it were by way of entreatie, doth require a time, that this stiffe necked people may learne to beare our yoake, and by framing their dispositions to a more humanitie, bring their cruell nature to a more ciuill conuersation. Do we not see that the corne in the field asketh a time for his riping, and though the same be without fence, yet hath it his course to be brought to perfection: do you beleeeue that so many Nations not agreeing with vs in religion, in custome, nor in vse of tongue, accustomed to the empire and name of another man, will be conquered and brought to subiection with the winning of one battaile? No trust mee, they be kept vnder with the feare of our power, and do not obey vs of their owne good willes. And they which shewe you obedience when yee be heare amongst them,

them, when you be absent will be your enemies. You must thinke that ye haue to doo with wyld beasts, which being fierce of nature when they be first taken, must be shut vp and tamed with tyme. Hitherto I haue reasoned with you as though we had conquered the whole dominion that pertained to Darius, which is nothing so. For Nabarzanes possesseth Hyrcania, and the traytour Bessus not only enioyeth Bactria, but also threatneth vs. The Sogdians, Dahans, Massageres, Sagans, and the Indians, remayne yet in their owne libertie and iurisdiction, which shall not see our backs so soone turned, but they will follow vs in the tayles. They all haue a certeine frendship and amitie one with another: but we be all strangers and forreyners vnto them. There is no creature, but that will more gladly be obedient to rulers of his owne nation, then to forreyners, be their gouernment neuer so terrible. We are driuen of necessitie therefore to win that we haue not, or else to lose that we haue already gotten. As Phisicians in syck bodies will leaue no humour that may hurt, so likewise we must cut away whatsoever shall be impediment vnto our Empire. Haue you not seene great fyres risen of small sparks not regarded? We may not neglect any thing in our enemyes, whome the more we despise, the more strong we make them. And because you shall not thinke it such an impossibilitie for Bessus to make himselfe King, where as a King wanteth, you shall vnderstand, that Darius came not to his Empire by inheritance, but got into the seate of Cyrus by the benefite of Bagoas his Eunuch. We commit an heynons offence (my souldiours) if we make warre against Darius, and put him downe for the intent to geue his kingdome vnto his seruauant:

yea, and to such one as attempted so vile an acte against his maister, at such a time as he had most neede of helpe, and whome we being his enemies would haue spared: he being his subiect, put him in chaines as a captiue, and finally slewe him because he should not be preserued by vs. Shall you suffer this kinde of man to raigne? no, let vs make all the speede we may to see him crucified, and so to shewe vnto all Kings and Nations a iustice done vpon one, that so vilely falsified his faith. If the report should come vnto you being in your owne countreis, that the same man were destroying of the Greeke Citie about Hellespont: O God how sory would you be then, and how much would you lament that Bessus should enioy that you haue gotten, and vsurp the rewards of your victorie? Then would you make haste to recouer your owne, then would you bend your selues to the warres. But how much better is it now to oppresse him whyles he remayneth in such feare, and is vncertaine what way to take? Shall wee spare to spend foure dayes iourney to come to him, that haue ouertroden such snowes, that haue passed so many riuers, that haue clymed so many Mountaines? to whose iourney the flowing sea could be no impediment, nor the streight of Cilicia coulde shut vp our way? Now all things are made playne and open, and wee stande in the entery of our victory. There bee but a fewe fugitiues and killers of their maisters that doo remayne. What more notable worke can you leaue vnto your posteritie, to be registred by fame vnto your glory, then to reuenge such as were traitours to Darius? You shall thereby shewe, that when you were enemyes vnto him, yet your hatred ended with his death, and that no wicked  
man

man coulde escape your handes. Which thing if you bring to passe, how much more obedient do you thinke the Persians shall be vnto you, when they perceiue you to take iust warres in hande, and that it was not Bessus name wherewith yee were offended, but with his faults & euill doings.

This Oracion was receyued of the Souldiers with such gladnes, that they straightways desired him to cary them whether he would. And he that coulde vse the occasion of their good moode, passed through *Parthenia*, and came to the borders of *Hircania*, leauing *Craterus* with the band, whereof he had the rule, & vi. M. horsemen, of whom *Aminas* had the charge, with the like number of Archers, to defende *Parthenia* from the incursion of the barbarous nations. He apointed *Erigonus* with a small power to attend vpon his carriages: willing him to passe with them through the plaine countrey, and he himselfe with his footemen, and with the rest of his horsemen, marched forwards a hundred and fifty furlongs, and encamped in a valley at the entrey of *Hircania*. In the same place be great woods full of high & thicke trees, and the bottom of the valley is very frutesfull, by reason of the springs that come forth of the rocks. Out of the foote of the mountaines there riseth a riuer called *Zioberis*, which within iii.

furlongs of the head, is deuided by a rocke, standing in the middes of the streame, causing the water to go two sundry ways, which afterwards comming againe into one channell, runneth more violently then befoze, by reason of the fall from the rocks. And sodeinly it sinketh into the ground, and so runneth hidden by the space of ccc. furlongs, and then commeth forth againe, as it were out of a new spring, being then in breadth xlii. furlongs, and as it runneth forwards, draweth more narrow, and falleth into another streame named *Rhydago*. The inhabitours of the countrey affirmed, that all things cast in where the streame sonke into the ground, would appeare and come out againe at the next issue. For the prouing of which conclusion, Alexander caused two Bulls to be cast in, where the water entered, whose bodies were found by such as were appointed for the purpose, where the streame brake out againe. In this place he refreshed his army four dayes, during which time Nabarzanes (which was confederate with Bessus in killing of the king) did write letters to him, in effect :

How that he was no enemy vnto Darius, but counsayled him euer to do such things as he iudged most profitable: and for his faithfull counsaile was put in daunger of his life by him, who went about against all reason to commit the custody of his

his person to straungers, condemning thereby the fidelitie of his owne nation, which they had kepte vnspotted towards their Kings the space of CC. xxx. yeres: Therefore seeing himselfe in that perill and daunger, tooke counsaile of his present necessitie. And alleged that it was alwayes admitted lawfull for a man to kill such one whome he knewe to conspire his death, which was an excuse (he sayde) wherewith Darius satisfied the people, when hee had slayne Bagoas. Hee alleged that nothing was more deere to mortal creatures then life, for the loue whereof hee was driuen to this extremitie, in committing an act which necessitie rather compelled him to do, then his own disposition. For in a generall calamitie euery man hath his fortune. If he would commaund him to come to his presence, he sayde he would not refuse to do it: for he could not feare that so great a King would violate his promise, seeing one God is not wont to deceiue another. But if he shoulde seeme vnworthy to whome he would geue his assurance, there were many countreys for him to flye vnto. For all men hauing vertue in them, count always that for their countrey, where they make their dwelling place.

Alexander made no stay to geue him his sayth, after such sort as the Persians vsed to receiue promise: which was, safely to come and go. Notwithstanding he marched in order of battaile, sending euer scourers befoze to discouer the ground. The light armed were appoynted to the batward: the phalanx followed after, and the baggage behinde. For by reason the same was a warlike nation, and the

countrey hard to enter vppon: it caused the King to looke earnestly vppon the matter. The same valley stretcheth out to the *Caspian* sea, the banks therof resembling the horns of the *Boone*, before it commeth to the full, the sea lying betwixt them like a great Bay. Upon the left hand the people inhabit that be called *Cercetes*, which lye open towards the North, and vppon the other part the *Leucosirians*, *Mossynes*, & *Chalibes*, & the plaines of the *Amazones* lye towards the West. This sea which some call the *Caspian*, & some the *Hircanian* sea, being more sweete then any other, bringeth forth Serpents of a wonderfull bignes, and fishes differing in colour much from all the rest. There be diuers of opinion, that the lake of *Meotis* should runne into this sea, which they coniecture of the water, thinking the same to receyue his sweetenes of the lake. Towards the North the sea groweth into a flat shore, and putteth forth his waters farre vpon the land, which rising high, make many meares and plashes. And as by certaine course of the Planets they flowe out, so at a certaine time by an ebbe, they retorne in againe, restoring the ground to his former estate. Some beleue those waters to be no parcell of the *Caspian* sea, but that they come out of *Inde*, and runne into

*Hirca-*

*Hircania*, whiche lye th lowe in the foresayde valley. The King beeing remoued from that place, marched forwards twentie furlongs in a wilde desert way, where great woods boong continually ouer their heads, & brooks of water and myre gaue great impediment to their iourney. But at length without any impediment of his enemies, he passed those difficulties, and came vnto a more faire countrey: wherein besides other victuals (whereof it did abound) grewe great plentie of apples, and the ground was very apt for bynes. There were also plenty of a certaine kinde of trees much lyke vnto *Okes*, whose leaues were couered with hony, whiche the inhabitants gather before the Sunne rysing: for else the moysture woulde bee dyled vp with the heate. When Alexander had passed thirtie furlongs more forwards, *Phrataphernes* met him, peelding both himselfe, and such other as fled away after *Darius* death, whom he receyued gently, and came to a towne called *Arnas*. Thither came *Craterus* and *Erigonus*, bringing with them *Phradates* that had the rule of the *Tapurians*: whose frendly receyuing & gentle entertainmēt was cause y many folowed his example, in committing theselues to Alexanders mercy. Menape was there made prince of *Hircania*, he being

a banished man in the time of Occhus, came to king Philip for refuge: and Phradates also was restored to the office he had before. When Alexander was come to the uttermost bound of *Hircania*, Artabazus whom we declared to shewe himselfe alway to his maister, met Alexander with Darius kinsmen and children, and with a small band of Greeke souldiours. The king at his coming profered him his hand, because he had bin entertained before by king Phillip, when he was banished by Occhus: but the chiefe cause that he accepted him so well, was for the continuall fidelitie that he obserued towards his Prince. He being thus gently receyued by Alexander, sayd vnto him:

Syr, long may you flourish and reigne in perpetuall felicitie. I that reioyce in all other things, with one am chiefly greued, that by reason of mine olde age, I shall not be able long to enioy your goodnes. He was lxxxv. yeeres of age, and brought with him nine sonnes borne of one mother, whome he presented before the King, praying God to continue their liues so long as theyr seruice might be acceptable vnto him.

Alexander was accustomed much to walk on foote, but then lest the olde man might be ashamed to ride, he going on foote, called for horses for them both. When he was encamped, he sent for the Greekes that Artabazus brought. But they made request first that he would

would geue assurance to the Lacedemonians that were amongst them, or else they would take aduise amongst themselves what were best to doe: The same were the Embassadors that the Lacedemonians had sent vnto Darius: which after the battell, ioined themselves to the Greekes that were in Darius wages. The king willed them to leaue all assurances and compositions, and come to receyue such appointment as he would geue them. They stood long in a stay varying in opinions, but at length they agreed so to doo, sauing Democrates of *Athens*, which chiefly had euer oppugned the successe of the Macedon, who despairing of pardon, slew himselfe. But the other, as they had determined, submitted themselves to Alexanders will, being x. M. v. C. in number, besides iiii. score and x. of such as were sent Embassadors vnto Darius. The more part of the Souldiers were distributed amongst the bands to fill vp the numbers that wanted, & the rest were sent home, except the Lacedemonians, which he commaunded to be put in prison. There was a nation called *Mardons* bounding next to *Hircania*, rude in their maners & vsages, accustomed to liue by theft: They neyther sent Embassadors, nor gaue any signification that they would be at Alexanders commaunde-

maundement: he tooke thereat great indignation that any one people should giue impediment to his victorie, and therefore leauing a guard for his cariages, went against them with a strong power. He marched forwards in the night, and by the time that the day appeared, his enemies were in sight. But the matter came rather to a larme then to any fight. For the enemies were sone driuen from the hills, who flying away, left their villages to be sacked by the Macedons. But the army could not passe into the inward parts of the countrey without great trouble & vexacion, the same being compassed about with high mountaines, great woods, and desert rocks, and the parts which were plaine, were defended with a strange kinde of fortification, that is to say, with trees set thicke of purpose, the boughes wherof when they were yong, were wreathed one within another: The tops bowed downe were put into the ground againe, from whence as out of another roote, there sprong new branches. They would not suffer the same to growe as nature brought them forth, but did knit them so one with another, that when they were full of leaues, they couered cleane the earth. The trees thus wreathed one with another, enclosed in the countrey as it were with a continuall hedge,

and

and were as snares to entagle such as would go about to enter. There was no way could be deuised to passe through the same, but only by cutting downe of the wood. And therein they found a great difficultie and much trauaile by reason that the wreathing and wrapping together of the boughes, kept them off from the bodies of the trees, and the weaknes of the boughes so yeelded to the strokes, that they could not easily be cut a sunder. The inhabitants of the countrey were accustomed to creepe amongst the bushe like wilde beasts, and by priuie sallies breake out vpon their enemies. Alexander therfore caused his men after the manner of hunters to seeke out their lurking places, and killed many of them. But at length he enuironed the wood with his soldiers round about, to the intent they might breake in at euery place, where they should spie any entrie. In doing wherof, many wandered & lost their company in places that they knew not, and were taken prisoners: and amongst them *Bucephalus* Alexanders horse, whome he did not esteeme as men doe other beastes: for hee would not suffer anye other man to leape vpon him: and when the king would ryde, hee would kneele downe vpon his knees to receiue him, so that he seemed to haue the sence to vnderstand whom he caried.

Alex.

### The sixth booke

Alexander was more sorrowfull, and stirred to a greater wrath for the losse of the horse, then was expedient for such a cause: for searching about to get the horse againe, caused Proclamacion to be made by an interpreter, that except he were restored, he woulde not leaue one of the countrey men alieue. When they heard this terrible threatning, amongst other gifts, they presented vnto Alexander his horse. Yet he was not therewith pacified, but commaunded the woods to be cut down, and the wayes to be made playne which he cut through the woods. This worke went so well forward, that the inhabiteurs despairing of habilitie to defend their countrey, yielded themselves to the king. Who receyuing their pledges, committed them to the keeping of Phradates, and from thence the fifth day returned againe to his campe. There he gaue to Artabasus the double honour & Darius did vnto him, and sent him home againe into his countrey. After that he came to the citie of *Hircania*, where Darius palace was, Nabarzanes vpon assurance came thither, bringing with him great gifts, and amongst the rest presented vnto Alexander Bagoas an Eunuch of singular beuty, being in the first flower of youth, whome Darius accustomed, and after Alexander: at whose intercession specially

of Quintus Curtius.

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specially he did pardon Nabarzanes. The nation of the *Amazons* being nere vnto *Hircania* (as hath bin said before) did inhabit the plaines of *Themyscire* about þe riuer of *Thermoodonta*, and had a Queene reigning ouer them called Thalestris, which kept vnder her dominion al the countreis betwene the mount *Caucasus*, and the riuer of *Phasis*. She for the great affection she had to see Alexander, traualled out of her owne countrey, and being come neere where he was, sent certein before, to declare that a Queene was come of desire to visite him, and to make her acquaintance. When libertie was geuen her to come to his presence, she caused all the rest of her band to stay, and she came forwardes accompanied with CCC. women. Alloone as she perceiued Alexander, she leaped from her horse, carying two Lances in her hand. The *Amazons* apparell is such that it doth not couer all their bodies: for their brests be bare on the left side, and their garments which they vse to knit by with a knot, come not to their knees. One brest they alwayes reserue vntouched, wherewith they nourish their women children, but their right brests they vse to seare, to make them more apt to draw their bowes, and cast their darts. Thalestris looked vpon Alexander with a helde countenance, and confide.

considered in beholding of him, that his personage answered not to the same that shee had heard of his acts. For the barbarous nations gaue great veneration to the maiestie of the personage, thinking none to be sufficient for the dooing of great actes, but such as nature hath endued with great personages. It was demaunded of her, if she had any request to make vnto Alexander: Whereat she abashed not to confesse that she was come thither to get children with him: thinking her selfe a personage worthy of whom he should get heires to inherit his kingdome, where in she couenanted, that if it were a woman she would keepe it still, and if it were a man childe, she would restore it to the father, Alexander enquired of her, if she would goe forwarde with him in his warres: but therein she excused her selfe, that she had left no order for the defence of her kingdome. But she continued still in declaration of the cause of her coming, and required that her hope therein might not be in vaine. The womans appetite seemed to be more vehemently giuen to lust then the kings was: yet she obtained of him to stay for her cause, and consumed thirteene dayes in satisfieng of her desire. That doone she departed to her owne kingdome, and Alexander went to Parthemia,

which

which was the place where hee first shewed manifestly the vices that were in him. & here he turned his continencie & moderation, being the most excellent vertues appearing in any kind of estate, into pride and voluptuousnesse, not esteeming his countrey customes, nor the wholesome temperance that was in the vsages and discipline of the kings of Macedon. For he iudged their ciuill vsage & manner to be ouer base for his greatnes: but did counterfeite the height & pompe of the kinges of Persie, representing the greatnes of gods. Hee was content to suffer men there to fall downe flat vpon the ground & worship him, and accustomed the victors of so many nations, by little and little to seruite officers, coueting to make them like vnto his captiues. He ware vpon his head a Diadem of purple, interpaled with white, like as Darius was accustomed, and fashioned his apparell after the manner of the Persians, without scrupulositie of any euill token that it signified for the victor to change his habite into the fashion of him whom he had vanquished. And though he aduaunted that he ware the spoiles of his enmyes: yet with those spoiles he put vpon him their euill manners: and the insolencie of the minde, followed the pride of the apparell. Besides he sealed such letters as he

sent

sent into *Europe* with his accustomed seale: but all the letters he sent abroade into *Asia*, were sealed with Darius ring. So it appeared that one minde could not beare the greatness that appertained to two. He apparelled also his frendes, his captaines, and his horsemen, in Persian apparell, wherat though they grudged in their minds, yet they durst not refuse it for feare of his displeasure. His court was replenished with concubynes: for he still maintained three hundred and lx. that belonged to Darius, and amongs them were flocks of Eunuches accustomed to perforce the vse of women. The olde souldiours of Philip naturally abhorring suche thinges, manifestly withstoode to be infected with such voluptuousnes, and strange customes. Whereupon there rose a generall talke & opinion through out the Camp, that they had lost more by the victorie, then they had wonn by the war. For when they sawe themselves overcome in such excesse: and forreine customes so to preuaile amongs them, they iudged it a slender reward of their long being abrode, to retorne home in the habite of prisoners. They began to be ashamed of their King, that was more like to such as were subdued, then to them that were victorious: and that of a king of *Macedon*, was become a prince of *Perse*, and one of Da-

rius

rius courtiers. When he vnderstood that the chiefe of his friends and his men of war were greuously offended with his doings, he went about to recouer fauour againe with gistes and liberalitie, but it is to be thought that the rewardes of seruitude bee vngreatfull to free men. And therefore least this matter might turne into a sedition, hee thought good to breake the imaginations increased by idlenes with the exercise of warre, wherof an apt occasion was giuen. For Bessus inuesting himselfe as a king, tooke vpon him the name of Artaxerxes, drawing to his part the Scythians, and other that were the inhabiteurs of the riuer of *Thanaïs*: which thinges were reported to him by Nabarzanes, whom he had receiued into his fauour, and given the rule of the country that he had before. When he had determined this new expedition, he found his armie so ouer charged and laden with spoyle, and other furnishings of voluptuousnes, that they could not scarcely moue. Therefore hee commaunded the baggage and stuffe of the whole armie to bee brought together in one place, excepting onely such thinges as were verie necessary. The place was large & plaine whither the cartes were brought laden: and when euerie one stoode waiting and musing what hee would commaund them to doe, hee

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caused

caused the beastes to bee remoued first out of the way, and then set his own fardles on fire, and after all the rest. Whilest these thinges were burning, the owners were on fire to see those thinges consumed, for the sauing wherof they had oft quenched the flames in Cities of their enemies. Yet no man durst lament the price of his owne blood, seeing they sawe the fire consume the kings riches as wel as their owne: and the rather to pacifie them, the king did mitigate their dolour with a brieve oration. Whereupon they that were euer apte for the warres, and readie to doe all thinges, began to bee ioyfull, that with the losse of their baggage they had preserved their discipline accustomed in the warres. As they were setting forwardes towardes *Bactria*, Nicanor the sonne of Parmenio died sodainly, whom euerie man greatly lamented: but chiefly the king was so sorrowfull, desiring to haue staid for the celebration of his buryall, but that want of victuals caused him to hast forward: Philotas therefore was left behind with two thousand six hundred souldiers, to performe the ceremonies appertayning to his brothers buryall, and hee himselte marched towardes Bessus. In the way letters were brought to Alexander from the Princes therabout, that Bessus was comming towardes him  
with

with a great armie, adding thereunto that Satribarzanes whome hee had made Prince of the *Arians*, was newly rebelled. For that cause (notwithstanding hee was come neare vnto Bessus) hee thought it best first to oppresse Satribarzanes: and for that intent he brought forwardes his horsemen and footmen that were light armed, to inuade him sodainly. His coming was not so priuite, but Satribarzanes knew thereof, and fledde into *Bactria* with two thousand horsemen. For by reason hee was not able to assemble anie more in so short a time, the rest tooke the next mountaines for their refuge. There was a rocke which towardes the west was high and steepe, but towardes the East more low and easie to bee clymed vpon, which parte was full of trees. The same rocke being in compassse thirtie and two furlonges, had a fontayne running continually, and in the toppe a greene playne, where they placed the weaker multitude: but the rest that were apte for defence, being to the number of thirteene thousand, gotte themselves to the edges of the rocke, and there threw downe stones and logges vpon the Macedons that came to assaile them. Hee lefte Craterus to besiege this rocke, and went in person to pursue Satribarzanes. And because hee understoode

The sixth booke

that he was fledde farre off, returned back againe to the sledge of them that were vpon the rocke. First he caused all things to be taken away, that might bee any impediment to his men in the assault giuing. But when they came to the bare and steepe rocke, the labour seemed waste, where nature wrought against them. But he that was of a disposition alwaies to strue against difficulties, considering howe hard a matter it was to go forwards, and how dangerous to retorne backe againe, did cast in his heade all the wates and deuises that could bee imagined, and nowe fantasied one thing, and then another, as men be wont whē that wayes they haue founde out first doe not please them. As hee stood in a stay in doubt what to doe, fortune did minister vnto him a meane, which neither wit nor reason could inuent. It chaunced that the winde blew soze at the south-west, what time the soldiors had felled great plentie of woode, whereof they thoght to make scaffolds to mount vpon against the rocke, and the heate of the Sun had made the same drie. When Alexander percepued the winde to blow after that sort, & the wood lying in that place, conceiued by and by his purpose, and willed more trees to bee cutte downe, and laide vpon them, putting all other things to it, that were apt to kinde and nourish

rish fire: So that trees heaped vpon trees, became as it were a mountain, so high as the toppe of the rocke. The same being set on fire in all parts at once, the wind carried the flame into the face of their enemies, and the smoke couered ouer the skie. The noyse was then great that the fire made, which burned not only the trees that were fired of purpose, but also the rest of the wood growing neare therabout. The enemies were so tormented with the flame and heate of the fire, that they were enforced to forsake their place of strength, and attempted to escape away where the fire did giue them least impediment. But where the fire gaue place, the Macedons stood in readines to receiue them, so that they were consumed and slaine diuers kind of wayes. Some threw themselves downe the rocks, some ran into the midst of the fire, others fell into the hands of their enemies: and a few halfe consumed with fire, were taken prisoners. When Alexander had done this act, he returned to Craterus which besieged *Artacnan*, who hauing prepared all things in readines, tarried onely for the kinges comming, to giue him the honoz of the winning of the Citie. When Alexander was come, hee approached & walkt with the towers of timber that he had prepared for the assault, at the sight whereof the in-

loue and feare, and clasped the yong man by the hande, requiring him with weeping eyes that hee would not sticke to bee a partaker in the execution of this conspiracie, or at the least, if his heart would not serue him, that he would keepe his counsell secreete, in respecte that he had founde such prooue of loue in him, to commit his life into his hands without any further prooue of his fidelitie. But in conclusion, when hee perceiued that Nicomachus would in no wise agree to his purpose, but manifestly abhorred the acte, hee vnder meanes to bring him to his intent, one while intreating him with faire wordes, and another while threatening to kill him. He called him toward and trayfour to his friend, commending the goodlines of the enterprise, and put him in hope of great preferment, in that hee should bee partner of the kingdome they went about to get. When he had proued all these wayes, and yet found him strange, he thrust his sword one while to Nicomachus throte, and another while to his owne, so that at length by threatening, & faire speaking, he brought him to promise, both to keepe his counsell secreete, and also to be assistant to the deed dooing. Yet neuerthelesse as one of a constant minde (though for the time present hee seemed to bee wonne with the loue of his friend,

friend, and become agreeable to his requests) changed no part of his former purpose. This done, Nichomachus required to know what the men were, that had confederated themselves in so weightie a matter, because the persons (hee saide) were much materiall that should take so great an enterprise in hande. Then Dymnus though hee were in greates trouble of mind that he had brought the matter so farre forth, yet when he heard him aske the question, reioiced, and thanked him greatly, that hee would so freely associate himselfe with such manner of men, as Demetrius of the priue chamber, Peculaus, Nicenor, Alphabetus, Loccus, Diocenus, Archelopus and Amintas. This communication once ended betwixt them, Nichomachus departed, and disclosed all the matter which hee had heard before, to a brother of his called Ceballinus: agreeing betwixt them two, that Nichomachus should remaine still secreete in his tent, least by his coming to the kings lodging, not vsing to haue accesse to the king, the conspirators might perceiue themselves betrayed. Ceballinus repayed to the kings lodging, and carried before the gate, waiting for some man neere about the king, to bring him to his presence. It fortuned that among many which passed by, onely Philotas the sonne

sonne of Parmenio, demanded why he way-  
ted there? To whom Ceballinus with a bash  
full countenance (well declaring the vnquiet-  
nes of his minde) reported all those thinges  
which he had heard of his brother, requiring  
him that he would declare the same immedi-  
ately to the king. Philotas departed from him  
vnto the king, with whome that day hee had  
much communication of other thinges, & yet  
opened no part of the same matter which was  
told him by Ceballinus. At night as Philo-  
tas came forth, Ceballinus met him at the  
court gate, and inquired whether he had done  
his message to the king or not. He excused the  
matter that hee could finde him at no leysure.  
The next day Ceballinus met him again, go-  
ing to the king, and put him in remembrance  
of that he had tolde him befoze, to whome hee  
answered that he remembred it well: but yet  
for all that, he disclosed no part of the matter.  
Ceballinus began then to suspect him, and  
intended no longer to deferre the thing, but  
opened the same to one Metron Maister of  
the kinges Armozie, who immediatly conuei-  
ed Ceballinus into the Armozie, and went  
straight to the king which was bathing, and  
informed him of all that hee had heard. A-  
lexander then made no delaye, but sent cer-  
taine of his garde to take Dimnus, and af-  
ter

ter came himselfe into the Armozie. As soone  
as Ceballinus sawe the king, he ranne vnto  
him with great reioicing, and said: Lo, I haue  
preserved thee from the handes of thine ene-  
mies. But Alexander examined him of all  
the circumstance, and hee agayne answered  
to euerie point in order. The king was ear-  
nest to knowe how long it was since Nicho-  
machus had giuen him this information, and  
he confessed that it was three dayes. Where-  
vpon the king considering that with truth hee  
could not haue concealed this matter so long,  
commaunded that hee should be put in ward.  
Then cried hee out, and declared how that at  
the same instant hee knew of the conspiracie  
first, hee opened it to Philotas, of whome (he  
saide) he might inquire the truth. Thereu-  
pon it was demanded of him, whether he had  
required Philotas to be brought to the kings  
presence or no. Which thing when the king  
by his confession perceiued to be true, & that  
he did stiffly abide by his first tale, he lifted vp  
his handes to heauen, the teares falling from  
his eyes, greatly complaining that Philotas  
should requite him with such vntruth, whom  
hee most assuredly trusted. Dimnus in the  
meane season knowing for what cause hee  
was sent for, wounded himselfe to the death:  
but yet somewhat letted by them that were  
sent

## The sixth booke

saile in the beginning of this matter: for if you would needs haue pardoned him, ye should haue kept from his knowledge how much hee was in your daunger, rather than to haue brought him in feare of his life, wherby ye shal make him more mindfull of his owne perill, than of your goodnes. For he may alwaies imagine your death, but you shall not be alwayes in case to pardon him. Let it neuer sinke in your heart, that hee which purposed so hainous a treason would chaunge his purpose for the beneuolence of a pardon. You know well that such as offend are often in dispayre of mercie. And though hee perchaunce eyther with repentance of his fault, or remembrance of your goodnes would chaunge his minde, yet I am sure that his father Parmenio, general Captaine of so great an armie, and of so grounded authoritie amongst your souldiers (that is with them in manner as yout selfe) would be euill content to bee in your debt for his sonnes life. There bee certaine benefites hatefull to men: and it is shame to confesse to haue deserued death. Therefore I conclude, that he had rather it should be thought you had done him wrong, then that he had giuen him his life. I cannot see therefore, but you shalbe enforced to destroy them for their owne suretie. There be enemies inough remaining yet vconquered, against whom wee bee going: make your selfe sure from your foes at home, so shal' ye haue lesse need to feare your enemies abroad.

These were Craterus words, & the residue of the counsel were of opinion, that Philotas would neuer haue concealed this conspiracy, except he had bene either principall or priuie there-

thereunto. For they thought there was no true man, or of honest hart, though hee had bene none of the kinges familiars, but one of his meane seruantes, bearing so much as Philotas heard, but would forthwith haue opened the matter. Yet he being the son of Parmenio, maister of the kings horse, & of his priuy counsel, did not so much as the stranger, who straightway made relatiō of that his brother had told him. And whereas he pretended that the king was at no leisure, that they iudged to be done to the intent the accuser should not seeke any other to whome hee might utter it. Whereas Nichomachus, albeit hee was bound by his oath to the contrary, yet would he neuer rest til he had discharged his conscience. But Philotas when he consumed in a maner the whole day in sport & pastime with the king, could not find in his hart to cast forth a few wordes, especially in a matter so much concerning the kinges safegard. But admitt (quoth they) he had giuen no credit to þ matter through the lightnes of the reporter, why should he haue deferred the accuser two daies as though hee had beleened it? For if hee had misliked the tale, he might haue dismissed the party. It was also alleged that euery mans minde much misgiueth him, when the matter concerneth his owne ieopardie. Much more oughte

dons, the kinges in their owne persons were wont to enquire in matters of treason: yet could not the kings authoritie preuaile to condemnation, excepte it were confirmed by the consent of the men of warre, Therefore the body of Dimnus was first brought into the place, the most part unknowing what hee had done, or by what chance hee was slaine. Then came the king forth to speake vnto the multitude, which in his countenance declared the dolour of his heart: and the sadnesse of such as were neare about him, caused vnto the rest great expectation of the matter. Hee did cast his eyes towardes the earth, & stood long astonied, and in a muse, but at length he plucked by his spirites, and spake vnto them in this wise.

By the treason of some men I was almost taken from you: but through the mercie and providence of the Goddes, I am yet preserved Your honourable presence dooth constrain me more vehemently to bee moued against those Traytours, because the onely comfort and fruite of my lyfe is, that I remayne to giue thanks vnto so manie noble men, vnto whome I am so muche bounden.

With speaking of these wordes the murmour of the multitude did interrupt his tale, and the teares did fall from their eyes. Then the king began againe his tale.

How

How much more will you bee moued, when I shall shew you the authors of so horrible treason, the rehearfall of whom I yet refraine, as one verie loath to discouer their names. But I must overcome the memorie of my former fauour, and vtter the conspiracie of my vnnaturall people: for how is it possible for mee to hide so great a treason? Parmenio a man of that age so deeply in my debt, through the most ample benefites both of me and my father, and whome I most esteemed of all my friends, is the captaine and contriuer of all this mischiefe. His minister Philotas hath procured Leucolaus, Demetrius, and this Dimnus, (whose body heete you see) with other partners of their furie to my destruction.

When hee came to that point, there arose throughout the multitude a great charme of a murmure & complainte, such as is wont to be among a number, and specially of men of war, whē they are moued either with affectiō or displeasure. With that Nicomachus, Metroa, & Ceballinus, were brought forth, euerie one of them giuing in euidence of that they had spoken afore, yet appeared it not by anie mans tale, that Philotas was priuie to that conspiracie. But at the last when the noyse was ceased, and the witnesses had saide what they could, the king proceeded in this wise.

Of what maner mind thinke you was this man, which hearing the whole report, could find in his heart to conceale the matter, the truth whereof is well declared by the death of Dimnus.

V 2

Cebal-

## The sixth booke

Ceballinus that reported an vncertaine tale, for the certayne tryall thereof was afraid of no torments, and neuer delaied the moment of time, vntill he had discharged himselfe: insomuch that he brake into the place where I was bathing: but Philotas onely feared nothing, hee beleued nothing. O how great a hart had this man, who hauing knowledge of the danger of his king, did neuer chaunge countenance, neither take so much paine as to heare out the tale of the accuser. But in this silence and concealment there is treason hidden, and the greedie desire he had to raigne, did driue him headlong to attempt extreme mischief. His father is gouernor of Media, and beareth such a stroke amongst the Captaines & men of warre through mine authoritie, that he hopeth for a great deale more than he hath. And because I am without children, he esteemeth mee not. But Philotas is deceiued, I haue children, friends and kinsfolke amongst you. So long as you be in safety, I shall not reckon my selfe without heires.

Then did hee recite a letter that was taken, which Parmenio had writtē to his sons Nicanor and Philotas, wherein there appeared no great prooffe of ante great treason intended. The effect was this: First take good heed to your selues, and then to those that belong to you, so shall we bring to passe that we haue purposed. Which letter the king informed, saying: It was writtē after such a manner, that if it came vnto his sonnes handes, it might bee perceiued of them that knewe the matter. And if it were caught by the way, it should

should deceiue them that knew it not. Then proceeded he:

Now will Philotas perhaps say, that when Dimnus named all that were partakers of his conspiracie, he named not him. As for that it is no proof of his innocencie, but a token of his power and authoritie, because hee was spared of them that might best bewray him, which confessing of themselves, durst not speake of him. But what manner man he hath beene, his life doth shewe. Hee was fellowe and companion to Amintas my kinsman, which conspired high treason against my person in Macedon. He gaue his sister in marriage to Atalus, then whome I had neuer greater enemy. When by reason of olde friendship and familiaritie I wrote vnto him of the title giuen to mee by the Oracle of Iupiter Hammon, hee did not sticke to answer: that hee was very glad that I was admitted into the number of the Gods, howbeit verie sorie for those that should liue vnder such an one, as would exceede the state of a man. These were plaine tokens that his hart was turned from mee, and that he spited my glorie. Which I kepte close in my hart so long as I might. For I thought my bowels pulled from mee, if I should make a little store of them, for whome I had done so much. But now it is not their wordes that must be punished: for the rashnes of their tongues is turned to swordes; which (beleue mee) Philotas hath whetted to my destruction. Whome if I should suffer to escape, alas my souldiors whither should I goe? To whom should I commit my person? Hee was the man that I made generall of my horsemen, of the greatest part of mine armie, and of all the noble young Gentlemen. To his truth and fi-

astonied, and besides himselfe, durst neyther looke vp, nor speak, but burst out into teares. Whereupon his hart fainted, and hee slowned down vpon those that led him. But afterward when he had wiped his eyes, and by little and litle recouered his hart and tongue, he made countenance to speake. Then the king beheld him in the face, & said: The Macedons shall be thy Iudges. I would know therfore whether thou wilt speake to them in thy countrie language, or not? To whom Philotas answered: There bee diuers nations here besides the Macedons, which as I trust shal perceiue my wordes the better, if I vse the same language that you did, because many might vnderstand your tale. Then said the king, marke how this man hath his country tongue in hatred. For there is none but he that wil disdaine to speake it: but let him say what hee will, so long as you remember that hee not onely disdaineth our customes, but also our language. And with that worde the king departed from the assembly. Then said Philotas:

It is easie for an innocent to find words to speake: but it is very hard for a man in miserie to keepe a temperance in his tale. Thus standing betwixt a cleare conscience and most vnhappie fortune, I know not in what wise I shall satisfie my selfe, and the time both together. For hee that might best haue iudged my cause is gone: what the cause is  
he

he would not heare me, I cannot well imagin, sith vpon the matter heard it lyeth onely in his hands both to discharge and condemn me. For the matter not heard, he cannot acquite mee beeing absent, since he condemned me when he was heere present. But notwithstanding the defence of a prisoner is not onely superfluous, but also hateful, which seemeth not to informe, but to reprove the iudge: yet will I not forsake my selfe, nor so doe, that I shall seeme condemned by mine owne default. I see not of what treason I should be guilty. Among the conspirators no man named mee. Nichomachus sayde nothing of mee. Ceballinus could not tel more of mee than he heard. And yet doth the king beleue that I should bee heade of this conspiracie. Was it possible that Dimnus should forget to name him that was chiefe? Or is it likely that he would haue ouerslipped me, when the names of the conspirators were demaunded of him? he would rather haue named me falsely to allure the yoong man the sooner to his opinion: yet when he told the matter priuily to Nichomachus, whom he beleued verily would haue kepte it secrete, naming himselfe and all the rest: of me onely he made no mention, wherein it cannot be gathered that hee omitted mee, for because hee would haue spared mee. I pray you my fellowes, if no man had come to me, nor giuen me knowledge of the matter, should I this day haue beene put to answer, when no man could haue accused me? but be it that Dimnus were aliue and would spare me what thinke ye by the other? would they confesse of themselves, and forbear me? Aduersity is malicious and spitefull. An offender when hee is punished himselfe, vseth not to keep silence to spare another man. Commonly he that goeth to death  
will

with him I had friendhippe I will not denie: excepte yee will make it a thing vnlawfull to loue the kinges brother But sithence it was our duetie to honour a man called to that degree of fortune, I beseech you, am I guiltie because I could not gesse before that hee would offende? Is the lawe such, that the friends of offenders must suffer being innocentes? If that bee reason, why liue I so long? If it bee no reason, why am I condemned to die? But when I wrote I had pittie of them that shoulde liue vnder such a one as beleued him selfe to be the sonne of Iupiter. O faithful friendship, and dangerous libertie of true counsell, that deceiued me, that compelled me not to hide that I thought. I confesse that I wrote so to the king, but not of the king. I did it not for spyte, but for my duties sake. I thought it more meete for Alexander to haue acknowledged the kinred of Iupiter with silence, than to haue made a vaunt thereof with vaine boasting. But for because the trueth of Gods Oracle is certaine, let God bee witnesse in my cause. Retayne mee in prison till yee maye know Iupiters answere concerning this conspiracie, and in the meane season he that hath vouchsafed our king to be his sonne, will suffer none of them that haue conspired against his offspring, to be vnkowne. If you suppose torments more certaine than Oracles, I will not desire to bee saued from them in tryall of the trueth. There is an old vsage, that such as be put to answere vpon life & death, are wont to bring their parentes and kinsmen before you. Two brothers of late haue I lost: my father neyther can I bring forth, nor dare call for, because he is accused of this treason likewise. Is it a small thing for him that was the father of many children, and hauing but one sonne lefte in

whom

whom to take pleasure, not one'y to lose him, but also to lose his owne life with him? Therefore my most deare father, shalt thou die for me, and with mee: It is I that take thy life from thee: It is I that ende thine old dayes: Why didst thou beget me vnhappie wretch in hatred of the Goddes, to take such fruite by mee, as is prepared for thee? I am in doubt whether my youth be more vnhappy or thine age. For I in the verie flower of my yeres am weeded vp, and the executioner shall bereaue thee thy life, which if fortune would haue suffered to continue, yet nature would haue asked it or it had bene long. The remembrance of my father doth put me in mind how loth and timerous I ought to haue bene to the report of tales. For when my father was informed that Philip the Philitian had prepared poyson for Alexander, he wrote a letter to warne the king that hee shoulde not receue the medicine, which his Philitian had prepared. Was my father beleued? Was his letter of anye authoritie? I my self when I haue reported such things as I heard, how often haue I been shaken of with a checke for my light beleefe. So that when we tell things we are hated, and when we hold our peace we are suspected: what would you haue vs do?

Then one of the companie that stood by, cryed out, that none ought to be traitours to them which put them in trust:

Thou sayest well (quod Philotas) whosoeuer thou art. And therefore if I haue done treason, I requyre no respite for my paine. And heere will I make an end of speaking, because my last wordes seeme tedious vnto your eares.

As he was speaking these wordes, his keepers let

ledde him away. There was amongst the captaines one Belon, a hardy man, but one very rude of all honest manners and ciuilitie, who being an old souldiour, was promoted from lowe estate, to the rowme of a captaine. This Belon presuming vpon a foolish audacity (when all others had done,) began to tell them, that when diuers had taken by their lodgings in the camp, how they were thrust out by the seruants of Philotas, which wold lay their baggage where other men wer placed, before: and how all the stretes were ful of his wagons, laden with golde and siluer. He added further that Philotas would suffer none to lodge neare him, but alwaies appointed certaine to wait whiles he slept, which should void all men aloufe, to the intent he should not be disquieted with any noise: not so much for wakening of him, as for his diseasing, & how he was so hant that he dyspyed the plain men of Phrigia, and Paphlagonia, and beeing a Macedon bozne, would not be ashamed to hear men of his owne nation by an interpreter, and whereas Philotas had before moued to haue the oracle of Iupiter inquired of, hee saide it was ment therby to make God a liar, for acknowledging Alexander to be his sonne, as if any man should enuy the king for that title which the Gods had giuen him. But why (q. he)

he) did he not aske counsell at Iupiter before he did offend? For now he would haue vs send for an Oracle, that in the meane season his father which ruleth in media, might raise a power vp, & with the money that he hath in custody, assemble desperat persons to the fellowship of his mischief. Nevertheless we shal (quod he) send to Iupiter, not to enquire of any thing touching the mater, but to giue him thanks, & do him sacrifice, for the preseruatiō of so good a king. Then all the company was moued, & amonges the kings household there began a cry, that the traitour should be rent in peeces. Which thing Philotas (whoe feared more greuous punishment) was cōtēt to heare. The king returning into the pzease, differred the counsel til the next day, for to commit Philotas either to prison there to be racked, or els in the meane season to get further knowledge of things. And albeit it drew towards night, yet cōmanded he his cōusel to be called together. Som of the thought it best Philotas should be stoned to death after the Macedons laws. Ephestion Craterus & Cenus, determined to haue the troth tryed by torments, & then they which concealed the contrary, turned to their opinion. Therefore when the councell was broken vp: Ephestion, with Craterus and Cenus arose to take Philotas to the examination

nation. The king called Craterus vnto him and commanding the rest to auoid, had secret communication with him in the innermoste part of his lodging, the effect whereof came not to anymans knowledge: And there taried till the night was farre past, to heare the end of the examination. The executioners set forth all sortes of cruell tormentes in the sight of Philotas, who of his owne minde said vnto them.

Why differre ye to kill such one as hath confessed himselfe the kings enemy, & a traitour? What needeth more examination? It was mine entent, it was my will.

Craterus minde was, that whatsoeuer was confessed before, should be confessed by Philotas againe vpon the rack. Which whiles he was taken vp, his eyes bounden, and spoyled of his clothes, cryed out vpon the law of nature, and the gods of the countrey. But all was in vaine to their deafe eares. Finally as a condemned man, he was torne with most extreme tormentes by his enemies, that wrought him sore for the kings pleasure. And notwithstanding that both syer and scourges were ministred vnto him, more to paine him then for any examinations sake: yet he had power of him selfe to refraine both from speaking and groaning. But after that his bodye began

to holne with stripes, and that he could not abyde the scourges, which pearced to the bare bones. Then he promised if they would torment him no more, he would confesse what soeuer they should require to know. But first he would haue them sweare by the lyfe of Alexander, that they should cease their tormentes, and set the rack aside. The which thing obtained, he saide to Craterus: Tell mee what ye will haue me to confesse? Thereat Craterus was displeased, thinking by those words, that he had mocked him, and caused his tormentes to be renewed. Then Philotas besought him to haue a time of respite whiles he might take his breath, and then he would vtter all that euer he knew. In the meane season, the chief of the men at armes, and especially such as were neare to Parmenio in any degree of kinrid, after that the same hadde byruted that Philotas was tormented, fearing the Pardons lawe (wherein it was ordayned that the kinsfolke of suche as hadde done treason against the king, should be put to death with the traitours: some slewe them selues, some fled into wilde mountaines, and waste wildernesses, and great dread & feare fel through all the hoast, vntill such tyme as the king hauing knowledge of the vproare, made proclamation that he would vardon the rigour of the

the law to the kinsfolke of the traitors. But in conclusion Philotas made this confession, whether it were to deliuer himselfe out of paine by accusing himselfe falsly or not, it is doubted: seeing it is commonly seene, that both such as truly confesse, and falsely deny, come all to one ende.

You are not ignorant (quod he) howe familiar my father was with Egilocus. I meane the same that was slaine in the helde: he was the cause of all our mischiefe. For when the king tooke vpon him the title of Iupiters sonne, he disdained therat. Shall we knowledge him (quod he) to bee our king, that taketh scorne that Philip was his father? We are all vndone if we can suffer this. Hee dooth not onely despise men, but the Gods also, which wyll bee repured a God. Wee haue lost Alexander, we haue lost our king. We are fallen to presumption, neyther tollerable to the Gods with whom he compareth, neyther to men whom he despiseth. Haue we with our bloud made him a God, which despiseth vs: which disdaineth to be in the number of men? Trust me that we also if we be men, shalbe adoped likewise of the gods. Who hath reuenged the deaths of Alexander his grandfather, or of Archilaus or Perdicas? But this man (quod he) hath forgiven them that slew his father.

These were the words that Egilocus spake about supper time, and on the morrow early my father sent for me, who was heauye, and saw me sad, for we both had heard that which  
made

made vs out of quiet. Therefore to prooue whether he habled those wordes through excessse of wine, or of an aduised purpose conceived before, we thought good to send for him, and seeking occasion of the same communication, he of his owne minde sayd further: that if we durst vndertake the aduventure hee would not shrink from vs, or if our hartes serued not, he would keepe our counsaile. Yet so long as Darius was liuing, my father thoght all the matter out of time, because the death of Alexander should be to the auaille of our enemies, and not of our selues. But Darius once rid out of the waye, then hee that could destroy the king, should obtaine the Empire of Asia, and all the Orient for his rewarde: which counsaile being approued, faith & troth was giuen thereupon: but concerning Dimnus I know nothing. When he had confessed all this matter, I perceiue (quod he) that it dooth not auaille me that I am vtterly guiltles of this treason. Then they renewed his torments againe, and so beate his face and his eyes with the troncheons of their speares, untill they enforced him, not only to confesse of himselfe, but also to shew the circumstances of the whole treason prepeused.

Because (quod hee) it seemeth that the king would sojourne long among the Bactrians, I was  
X 2 afraid

## The sixth booke

afraide least my father that had so great a power in his hands, and the keeping of so much treasure (beeing fourescore yeares of age) should happen to die in the meane season, and then being disarmed of so great a strength, should not get opportunitie to slea the king. Wherefore I hastened the matter, whilest the pray was in hand.

Thus discovered he the conspiracie, wherof if they beleued his father to be author (hee saide) for his triall hee refused not to bee tormented againe, though it were too greivous for him to indure. The officers then whispering together, thought the examination to be sufficient, and returned therewithall vnto the king, which on the morrow caused all the confession there to be openly recited before Philotas: whome he caused to bee ledde into the place, because he was not able to go, and ther he confessed all the matter againe. Then Demetrius was brought forth, who was counted the greatest doer in this conspiracie nexte to Philotas. But he with great protestation and incredible stoutnes both of hart and countenance, denied that hee euer intended any euill against the king, and for his triall desired to bee tormented. Then Philotas casting his eyes about, spied one Calis standing by, and made a signe to him to draw neare: who being abashed, and refusing to come forwards: *Alit thou (quoth hee) suffer Demetrius to*

lie, and me to be strained againe: With those wordes Calis became speechles, and chaunged colour. Then the Macedons beganne to suspect that he woulde accuse innocentes, because the same Calis was neither named by Nichomachus, nor by Philotas himselfe in his torments. But finally Philotas before the kings officers standing therabout, confessed that the treason was conspired by himselfe & Demetrius. Wherefore as manie as were appeached by Nichomachus vpon a token giuen, were stoned to death according to the Macedons lawe. Thus was Alexander deliuered from great peril, not onely of his life, but also of his surety. For Parmenio & Philotas beeing of such power, if they had not openly beene founde culpable, could not haue beene condemned without the grudge of the armie. So long therefore as Philotas denyed y thing, the matter seemed doubtfull, & manie men thought him cruelly handled. But after hee had confessed the circumstances, no man, not so much as his neare friendes tooke anie pittie of him.

¶ 3

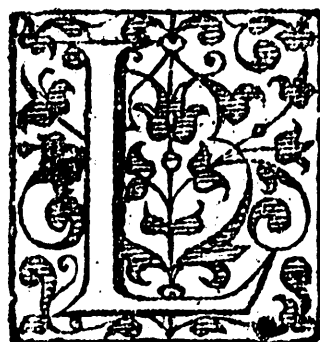
The





## The seauenth Booke of

Quintus Curtius, of the acts of Alexander the great, King of Macedon.



Like as the men of war thought Philotas unjustly put to death, his offence being fresh in memorie, ever so after hee was gon, whom they before hated, they enuie was turned to pittie.

The noblenesse of the young man mouued them much: so did the remembrance of the olde peeres and belolation of his father. He was the first that made the way open for Alexander into Asia, alwayes partaker of his perils, as he which in the wars was euer captaine of his vaward, cheefe counsaile with the king his father, and so trustie to Alexander himselfe, that in oppressing of Attalus his enemy, hee would vse none other mans seruice. Theremembrance of these things was ripe among all the souldiers, and sedicious words came to the kings eares, who being little mouued therewith, did wisely with tra-  
uaille

uaille auoide the euill occasions conuining of islenes: wherfore he made it to be proclaimed, that all men should be in readines before the court gate, where they being once assembled, he came forth to speake vnto them. And as it was before deuised, required the bande of the Agrians to bring forth one Alexander Lyncestes, which long before Philotas had conspired the Kings death: This man being accused of two witnessses (as before said) had remained in prison three yeares together. Against whom it was prooued that he was of counsaile with Pausanias in the killing of King Philip. But because he saluted first Alexander by the name of King, his punishment was differred, rather then his offence forgiven. For at the intercession of Antipater his father in lawe, the King had respited his iust indignation for that time. But the old seuered sore brake out againe, and the consideration of his perill present, renewed the remembrance of his daunger past. Therefore when he was brought forth of prison, and commaunded to say for himselfe, albeit hee had three yeares leasure to deuise his answer, yet stammering and trembling could bring forth but little of that which he purposed to say. And finally, both his heart & his memory failed him: wherfore there was none

that doubted, but that his fearefulness was a token of a guiltie conscience, and no default of memorie, so that whilest he was staggering and hacking in his tale, they that stood next thrust him through with their pikes: whose bodie conueied out of the place, the king commaunded Amintas and Simamannas to be brought forth: for Palemon their yongest brother, after hee had knowledge of Philotas torment, fled away. Of all Philotas friends, these two were most deare to him, & through his commendation aduanced to high and honorable offices. The king remembring with what earnestnes and labour Philotas had brought them into his fauor, doubted not but they were priuy to this last conspiracy. Whereupon he declared vnto the multitude, that hee had occasion of suspicion agaynst those men long agoe by his mothers letters, whereby he had warning to beware of them, & that nowe fearing the sequelle of worse inconueniences had made them sure, inforced thereunto by apparant presumptions. First he saide, the daye before Philotas treason came to light, it was well knowne that they had much conference with him in secret: and also their brother who fled away when Philotas was on the racke, hee had declared by the absenting of himselfe, the cause of his flying. He shewed also that of late,

late, contrary to their accustomed manner of waiting, without any cause moouing them thereunto, but onely by pretence of diligence they pressed next about the king of all other: whereat maruelling that they would furnish a roome whereunto they were not appointed, became so in doubt of their clustring together that hee returned into the traine of the Gentlemen that followed him. He declared beside that when Antiphanes Clarke of the stable, the day before Philotas treason came to light according to his accustomed manner, gaue knowlege to Amintas that he should deliuer of his horse to such as had lost their owne: hee proudly answered againe, that except he wold content him selfe, he should know shortlye what maner of man he was. Which violence of tongue and rashnes of wordes bulked oute (quod he) was nothing els, but a declaration and token of his traiterous harte. These things being trewe (hee saide) they hadde no lesse deserued then Philotas, and if they weare otherwyle, hee desired they might answere vnto the points. Thereupon Antiphanes was brought in to geue euidence of the horse not deliuered, & of his proude answer geuen with threatning. When Amintas had gotten libertie to speake, hee desired of the Kinge that whyles they answered

swered for themselves, their bandes mighte  
bee loosed: which thing obtained, hee made  
suite to haue his garment to bee cast vpon  
him. Which Alexander not onely granted,  
but mislaid a weapon to be deliuered vnto his  
hands, as other esquiers vled. When hee had  
receiued the same, he eschued a litle the place,  
where the corpes of Lincestes lay, and saide  
in this wise.

Whatsoever shall become of vs (sir King) wee  
must thinke if our chaunce bee good, the same to  
proceed of your fauour, and if it be euill, we must  
iudge the fault to be in our fortune, seeing you  
suffer vs to pleade our cause without preiudice,  
setting our mindes free, and our bodies at large,  
with the same apparell restoring vs, wherein wee  
were wont to follow you. Our cause is such, that  
we cannot doubt of it, and we are passed the fear  
of fortune. Therefore with your fauour I will an-  
swere first those pointes wherewith you charged  
vs last. We know most assuredly that we be inno-  
cent of any kind of words spoken to the derogati-  
on of your Maiestie: and durst affirme that you  
had ouercome all enuie of men, but that perad-  
uenture you would thinke that I went about with  
faire wordes to excuse thinges that haue beene  
maliciously spoken. Though it were so that words  
sometime did escape vs, either when we were faint  
or wearied in marching, hazarding our selues in  
fighting, or els when we were sicke, or dressing of  
our wounds: our honest doings otherwise doe de-  
serue, that yee should rather impute the same to  
the time, than to any euill disposition in vs. For it  
is

is commonly scene where any thing chancerh a-  
misle, al men in maner become guilty of the fault.  
Wee doe violence sometime to our owne bodyes,  
which we hate not. Yea, the comming of the fa-  
thers vnto the children sometime is both vngrat-  
full, and also hatefull. But on the other side, when  
we receiue rewards or gifts, or when we come la-  
den home with spoile, who can then stay vs? who  
can restraine our chearefulness? or who can resist  
our courage in fighting? the nature of man is nei-  
ther to keepe measure in displeasure, nor in glad-  
nes. Thus are we driuen by the violence of affec-  
tion, sometime with pitie, and sometime with furie,  
as our present desire doth gouerne vs. One while  
we are in mind to passe through India as far as the  
Ocean sea, & by and by the memorie of our wiues  
children, and country call vs back againe, & doth  
alter our purpose. But as soon as the trumpet soun-  
deth, straight all these imaginations do pas away,  
& euery man then runneth into his array, reuen-  
ging vpon their enemies the displeasures concei-  
ued within their lodgings. I would Philotas had  
offended but onely in wordes. I would passe ouer  
that, and return to the other point, wherof we be  
accused. The friendship that was betwixt Philotas  
and vs, I will not only denie, but also confesse that  
we did couet the same, and receiued therby great  
commoditie. Doe you maruel that we did honour  
and esteeme the son of Parmenio, whome you did  
chuse to bee next about your person, and did ad-  
uance aboue all other your friends? You your self  
(if it please you to heare the truth) are the cause  
of this our perill. What other thing moued vs to  
couet Philotas frendship, then that we desired to  
please you. By his preferment we were aduanced  
vnto your fauour. Hee stode in such case with  
you,

## The seventh booke.

you that it behoued vs as wel to sue for his beneuolence, as to feare to get his displeasure. Haue not we sworne that wee should repute your enemies our enemies? and honor your friends as our owne? Should we haue beene found disobedient in this bond of our dutie? and specially towards him, whom yee did preferre aboue all men? If this be a fault, ye haue fewe innocents, or surely none at all. All men desired to be Philotas friends: but all that did couet could not be accepted. So if yee will make no difference betweene the partners of his treason, and such as were his friendes: then so manie bee offenders as would haue beene his friendes. What presumption haue you nowe that wee should offende? I thinke because yesterday Philotas talked with vs familiarly alone. Thereof I cannot excuse my selfe, if yesterday I chaunged anie thing of mine accustomed maner & liuing, but if so bee wee vsed euerie day to doe the like, then custome must needes make it to be none offence. But it may be said the horses were not deliuered to Antiphanes: and the day before Philotas was detected, this matter was betwixt Antiphanes and mee. If that bee a iust cause of suspicion that I would not then deliuer my horses, there shall arise a doubtfull plea betweene the denyer and the demaunder, sauing that his cause is better that kepeeth stil his own, then his that requy-  
 reth another mans. I had tenne horses, of the which Antiphanes had distributed eight, to such as had lost their owne: so there remained onely two, which when he would proudly & wrongfully haue taken away, I was enforced to keepe them still, except I would haue serued on foote. I can not denye, but this communication was had betwene a man of a free stomake, and a person of a

vyle

## of Quintus Curtius.

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vyle nature, which I coulde do no manner seruice, but take away mennes horses, and geue them to other. What mischief is this, that at one time I must purge my selfe both to the kinge & to Antiphanes. But to the other point that your mother did wryte to you of vs, as of your enemies: I would God she had more wisely ben careful of hir sonnes safeguarde, then doubtfully ymagined such fained figures. Why dothe she not also expresse the cause of her feare? Besides she sheweth not her author, nor yet signifieth one worde whereby she was moued to write to you such letters of feare. O wretched estate of mine, which stā deth in lesse hazard to hold my peace, then to speake. Yet howsoeuer the mater shal passe: I had rather mine excuse shulde displease you, then my cause. If you remember when you sent me to fetch new souldiours out of Maccdon, euen then ye shewed me, that in your motheres house there lurked many lusty young gentlemen: Wherefore ye commaunded me, that in executing your commission, I shoulde spare none, but bring with mee perforce, all such as refused the warres. Which thing I did, and fulfilled your will therein more largely then was expedient for me. For I brought vnto you Gorgeus, Hecateus, & Gorgata, which now minister vnto you right acceptable seruice. What creature therefore is more wretched then I, which if I had not fulfilled your wil, should right fully haue suffered, and now perish, because I obeyed you? For truly there was none other cause that moued your mother to persecute vs, then that we preferred your vtility before a womans fauour. I brought vnto you of Macedons six thousand, and eight houndred horsemen, of the which the more parte would not haue fol-  
 lowed

lowed mee, if I had released such as would not haue come. It is reason therefore, that in as much as your mother is displeased with vs for your cause, that ye mittigate her in whose displeasure ye haue put vs.

Whyles Amintas was thus pleading his cause, they that had pursued his brother Palemon (of whome wee speake) came leading him bound into the place. Then the rage of the people could scarcely bee pacified, but as the manner was in such cases, they would haue stoned Palemon to death. Yet he boldly spake to them and said.

I desire no fauour for my selfe; so that my flying be not hurtfull to the innocencie of my brethren, whom if ye cannot thinke cleare, let the fault bee laide to mee. For their matter appeared the better, because I which fled away am suspected.

As soone as he had spoken these words, the whole assembly were enclyned in his fauour, and resolved to teares, bring so sodainely so contrary turned, that now they were all conuerted on his part, which a litle before were all against him: he was in the prime flower of his youth, & through other mens feare fled away amongst those horsemen, which were amazed at Philotas torments. His company had left him behinde, and whiles he was in doubt whether he might turne againe, or flye further forwardes, was taken by them which pursued after him. He than began to weepe,

weepe, and beat him selfe about the face: not so muche lamenting his owne chaunce, as that case of his brethren being in danger for his cause, with which his behauiour he moued the king and all the company there present. Duely his brother Amintas coude not be pacified, but beheld him with a fierce countenance, and said:

O madde creature, then oughtest thou to haue wept, when thou diddest put thy spurres to thy horse, as a traitour to thy brethren, and a companion to traitours. Thou wretch, whither, and from whence diddest thou flee? Thou haste now brought to passe, that both I am thought worthy of death, and also must become an accuser of others.

Palemon theruppon confessed himselfe to haue offended in that point, but more greauously against his brethren, then towardes himselfe. Then the multitude could not abstaine from weeping and howling: being tokens whereby men in assembly are woont to declare their affections: and with one consent they cryed all to the king with one voice, that he should spare innocentes, and men of seruice: his frendes also vppon that occasion did rise, and with weeping eyes required the king of mercie. Then he commanded silence, and said.

By myne owne iudgement I doe pardon both you Amintas and your brethren, desirous that ye should

should be more mindfull of my benefite, then of your owne ieopardy. Come in fauour again with me, with that fidelity I am reconciled vnto you. Except those things which were brought in euidence, had bene debated and tryed, to the vttermost, my dissimulation might haue bene suspected in this matter. Better it is therefore to be cleared then to remaine in ielousie, & thinke that no man can be acquitted, except hee bee first detected. Thou Amintas, pardon thy brother, and let that be a token of thy heart reconciled vnto mee

This done, the King dismissed the assemblee, and sent for Poledamus, whome of all men Parmenio loued best, accustomed alwayes to stand next him in battaill. And though the cleerenes of his conscience did assure him to come boldly: Yet after he was commanded to bring forth his brethren being but young, and unknowne to the king, his confidence was turned into feare, and began to doubt, imagining in his mynde rather such thinges as might hurt him, then by what meanes hee was thus circumvented. In the meane season the Guard which had commaundement thereunto, brought forth his brethren. When the King sawe Poledamus pale for feare, he called him neare, and commaunding all men aparte, said vnto him:

Through Parmenio his treason, wee were all in daunger, but chiefly I and thou, whome vnder colour of frendship he deceaued most. In the pursu-  
ing

ing & punishment of whome, see how much I trust thy fidelitie: for I am determined to vse thee as a minister therein, and whiles thou goest about it, thy brethren shall be thy pledges. Thou shalt goe into Media, and beare my letters to my officers, written with mine owne hand. It is necessary hast bee made, that the swiftnes of the same may bee preuented. I wil that ye come thither in the night and that the tenour of my writing bee executed the day after. Ye shall carrie letters likewise vnto Parmenio, one from mee; and another written in the name of Philotas. I haue his signet in my custodie. So that when Parmenio shall see both you, and the letter sealed with his sonnes ring, he will be without any suspicion.

Polidamus being thus deliuered of fear, promised his diligence a great deal more earnestly than he was required. When Alexander sawe his promptnes in the matter, both commended his good will, and rewarded him accordingly. And Polidamus chaunged his owne apparell, and tooke other after the Arabie fashion, with two men of the same country to be his guides, for whose truth their wiues and children were pledges in the meane season. And so they passed on Camels through such places as were desert for lacke of moisture, & within eleuen dayes came vnto their iourneys ende, before any knew of their coming. Polidamus then tooke again his Macedonian apparell, and in the dead of the night,  
P came

came into Cleanders lodging, which had the chiefe authoritie there, next vnto Parmenio. When Cleander by his letters vnderstoode the kings pleasure, Polidamus hauing more letters to deliuer likewise to others, agreede by the spring of the day to goe altogether to Parmenio. As they wer going, tidings came to Parmenio of Polidamus arrivall, who reioicing both for the coming of his friend, and for the desire he had to know of the kings estate (the rather because hee had receiued no letter from him a long space) commaunded Polidamus to be sought out. The houses of that country haue large backe sides, & pleasant orchards full of trees, being the chiefe delight of Princes, and great Lords there. The Capitaines which had receiued commaundement by the kings letters to kil him, came to Parmenio, walking vnder the shadow of the trees, heeing agreed amongst themselves to execute the thing, when hee should beginne to read his letters. So soone as Parmenio had espied Polidamus comming a farre off, with a semblant of ioy (as appeared by his countenance) ranne to embrace him, and after salutation giuen ech to other, deliuered the kings letter. As he was vnclosing it, he demanded of Polidamus what the king intended to do: you shal know that (quod he) by the contents

of

of our letters. Which when he had read: I perceiue (quod Parmenio) that the king purposed a voyage against the Arachosians: surly he is a painful prince, and neuer in rest. But now after so much glory wome it were time for him to take his ease, and haue consideration of his health and lauegarde. And then hee read the other letter written in the name of Philotas, whereat he was ioyful, as appeared by his countenance. With that Cleander stabbed him with his sword in the side, and after striking him ouer the throte, the residue thrust him in as he lay dying. But Parmenio his men which stood neare at hand, and sawe the murder, whereof they knewe not the cause, ran into the campe, and with their troublous tydings, set all the souldiours in a roze. They ran straight to a nesse, and clustring together about the place where the murder was done, made an exclamation, that except Polidamus and the other doers of that deede were deliuered to their handes, they would ouerthrow the wall, and make sacrifice to their dead capitain, with the bloud of the offendours. Cleander willed the chiefe of them to be let in, & recited the kings letters, wherein was contained the treason of Parmenio intended against him, with a request to the to see it reneged. Then immediatly vpon the

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kings

kings pleasure knowne, the sedition was appeased, but the grudge was not rid out of their hearts. The most part departed sauving a few, which required instantly that at the least they might be suffered to burie the bodie. It was denied them long by reason of Cleander, who dreaded the kinges displeasure: but because they began to waite more earnest, intending to auoid matter of sedition, he cut off the head which hee sent to the king, and lefte them the body to burie. This was the ende of Parmenio, a noble man both in warre and peace: many thinges had he done valiantly without the king, but the king without him did neuer any thing worthy praise. He serued & satisfied in all affaires a king most happy & fortunate, and being threescore & ten yeres of age, executed the office of a Captaine as liuely as though he had been yong in yeaeres, and pretermitted not oftentimes the parts of a common souldior. He was quicke in counsel, doubt of deed, wel beloued of al princes, but most deare to the common sort of souldiors. Yet whether those thinges moued him to be king, or els caused him to be suspected thereof, it is yet to be doubted. For whether the wordes that Philotas spake, when he was overcome with the pains in his last torments were true or false, or els that hee sought an ende of his

paine

paine by accusing himselfe falsly, it was much doubtful, seeing there was no such thing proued at such time as the matter was most fresh in memory. Such as Alexander perceived to grudge at the death of Philotas, were separated from the rest of the army, and put into one Cohort vnder Leonidas the Captaine, which in times past was of neare familiaritie with Parmenio: The king bare priuy displeasure against them, and therefore willing to proue the disposition of euery man, gaue warning throughout the army, that all such as would write into Macedonia, & haue their letters surely conueyed, should bring them to be carryed with such as hee would send. Whereupon euery man did write frankly to their friends such thinges as were in their hearts. Some shewed themselves to be offended with the long warres, & some seemed to be well pleased. But all their letters were intercepted, as wel of such as commended the king, as of those that grudged at his doinges. Wherefore he willed such as by their letters disclosed themselves to bee wearie of the trauaile of the warres, or they reproach to be put in hand apart from the rest. Whereby he both gaue them occasion to shewe their hardines, and besides remooued the libertie of their tongues from the credulous eares of

the rest. Which rash deuise, as al other things turned to the setting forth of the kinges felicitie. For in all extremities they shewed themselves the readiest and the most forward: & whilst they coucted to redeem their reproch, their valiant doings could not be hidden in so small a number, separate by themselves.

These things being ordered after this manner, he appointed a ruler ouer the *Arians*, and proclaimed his tourney against the *Araspians*: which, by changing of their name, were called *Euergitans*. Since the time that they relieved Cirus army with lodging & victuals being afflicted with cold and penurie. It was the fift day before hee entred into their country, where he vnderstood that Satibarzanes which tooke Bessus part, was with a power of horsemen entred againe amongst the *Arians*. Hee sent against him Caranus and Exigius, and in their ayde Artabafus and Andromachus with six thousand Greeke footmen, and six hundred horsemen. Alexander continued threescore dayes in setting order amongst the *Euergitans*: vpon whome he bestowed a great summe of money, for the notable fidelitie they shewed towards Cirus: and leauing Aménides to bee their gouernour (who was Darius Secretarie) he went to subdue the *Arachosians*, which border vpon the

the Sea of *Ponte*. The men of warre which were vnder Parmenio his rule, came then to Alexander, beeing six thousand Macedons, with two hundred of the *Mobility*, fve thousand Greeke footmen, and two hundred horsemen, which were the chiefest force of his power. To these *Arachosians*, Menon was appoynted Lieutenant, with foure thousand footmen, and six hundred horsemen.

Alexander from thence entered with his Armie into a Country not knowne vnto such as bordered vpon it: for the inhabitants would not haue conuersation with any other people. They were called *Paramisadans*, beeing a verie rusticall kind of men, and most rude amongst all the barbarous nations: the hardnesse of the country had so indurated theyr dispositions. They lye moste towards the colde North pole, ioyning with the *Bactrians* vpon the West, and bending towards the Indian sea vpon the South. They vse to bulde theyr houses of bricke, and because the lande is full of barren mountaines, and void of timber, they make their whole houses of the same, which beginning broade beneath, growing euer more narrowe towards the topp, and lyke the keeles of a Shippe, whereas the boles be made aboue to receyue light. Such of their

pines and trees that bring forth fruit, as they  
 will preserve from the violence of the cold, they  
 cover them with earth during the winter sea-  
 son, and when the snowe is vanished away,  
 they restore them againe to the aire & to the  
 sun, The earth was there covered with snow  
 frozen so harde, that there remained no signe  
 of any bird or beast within the country. The  
 aire besides was so darke, that little light ap-  
 peared; but the earth covered as it were with  
 a dimme shadow, men could scarcely discerne  
 things very neare at hand. The army brought  
 into this country, destitute of all the cultivati-  
 on of man, suffered all the discomforts and  
 miseries that might be endured, both of hun-  
 ger, cold, wearines, and despaire. There were  
 many of them that died for cold, and the snow  
 destroyed their feet: but specially it perished  
 many mens sight. When they were wearied  
 and not able to trauaile any further, they laid  
 themselves downe vpon the frozen snow, and  
 hauing once leste the motion of their bodies,  
 which styred in them theyr naturall heate,  
 they were straight wayes so nummed with  
 colde, that they could not rise agayne, tyll  
 they were lifted up by their companions. And  
 remedie in this matter was there none, but  
 to compell them to goe forwards: for then by  
 stirring of themselves theyr naturall heate  
 was

was reuiued, and they recovered againe some  
 strength. Such as recovered the cottages  
 wherein the countrey men dwelled, were ve-  
 rie wel refreshed. But the darknes was so  
 great, that the houses could not be other wise  
 discerned then by the smoke. The inhabitants  
 that had neuer seen strangers before amongst  
 them, when they beheld the armed men com-  
 ming so mainly vpon them, were amazed for  
 feare, and brought forth whatsoeuer they  
 had, to saue theyr bodies from violence. A-  
 lexander wente on his feete amongst his  
 men, raising such as were lying, and relea-  
 uing such as he saw afflicted with the colde,  
 with his owne clothes. He was seene, one  
 while in the forewarde, another while in the  
 midst, and sometime in the rereward, to the  
 great trauaile of his bodye. At length they  
 came to places better manured, where hee  
 refreshed his army with plente of victuals,  
 and there remained in campe till such time  
 as all that were left behinde, came vnto their  
 fellows. Then he went forwards with his  
 armie to the Mount Caucasus, which deu-  
 deth all Asia into two parts. For on the one  
 side it stretcheth towards the sea of Cilicia,  
 and on the other side to the Caspian sea, to  
 the riuer of Araxes, and the deserts of Sci-  
 thia. To this mount Caucasus, there ioy-  
 neth

pines and trees that bring forth fruit, as they  
 will preserve from the violence of the cold, they  
 cover them with earth during the winter sea-  
 son, and when the snowe is vanished away,  
 they restore them againe to the aire & to the  
 sun, The earth was there covered with snow  
 frozen so harde, that there remained no signe  
 of any bird or beast within the country. The  
 aire besides was so darke, that little light ap-  
 peared; but the earth covered as it were with  
 a dimme shadow, men could scarcely discerne  
 things very neare at hand. The army brought  
 into this country, destitute of all the cultuati-  
 on of man, suffered all the discommodities and  
 miseries that might be endured, both of hun-  
 ger, cold, wearines, and despaire. There were  
 many of them that died for cold, and the snow  
 destroyed their feet: but specially it perished  
 many mens sight. When they were wearied  
 and not able to trauaile any further, they lay  
 themselves downe vpon the frozen snow, and  
 hauing once leste the motion of their bodies,  
 which styred in them theyr naturall heate,  
 they were straight wayes so nummed with  
 colde, that they could not rise agayne, tyll  
 they were lifted up by their companions. And  
 remedie in this matter was there none, but  
 to compell them to goe forwards: for then by  
 stirring of themselves theyr naturall heate  
 was

was reuiued, and they recovered againe some  
 strength. Such as recovered the cottages  
 wherein the countrey men dwelled, were ve-  
 rie wel refreshed. But the darknes was so  
 great, that the houses could not be otherwise  
 discerned then by the smoke. The inhabiteurs  
 that had neuer seen strangers before amongst  
 them, when they beheld the armed men com-  
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 thia. To this mount Caucasus, there ioy-  
 neth

neth an other Mountain called Taurus, next vnto it in bignes, which riseth from Capadocia, and passing by Cilicia, closeth with the Mountaines of Armenia. Out of these Mountaines ioyning thus together as it were in one continuall ridge, all the Riueres of Asia do descend. Some of them running into the Red sea, some into the Caspian and Hircanian sea, and other into the Sea of Ponto. In vii. dayes Alexander with his armie passed the mount Caucasus, where in a rocke that is ten furlongs in compasse, and fower in heygth, the antiquitie fained that Prometheus laye bound. At the foote of this mountaine Alexander chose out a place to build a citie, wherein he placed vii. thousand of the most auncient Macedons, and such other besides, whose seruice he would not vse any moze in the warres, and called the same Alexandria. But Bessus that was put in feare with Alexanders celeritie, made sacrifice vnto the gods of his countrey, and according to the custome of those nations, consulted with his friends & his Capitaines, for the maintenance of the wars being at meate. And when they were wel charged with wine, they extolled greatly their owne power, dispising the rashnes of their enemies, and their small number. But chiefly Bessus was most arro-

arrogant in his wordes; who puffed by with pride by reason of the kingdome he had newly gotten by treason, & not master of his wits, began to declare, howe that Darius by his folly had encreased his enemies fame, who would needs fight with them in the streights of Cilicia, when by rettying backe hee might haue drayne them (before they had bin ware) into desert places, and there haue put riueres and mountaines between his enemies & him, and amongst the same so enclosed them, that they could by no possibilitie haue fled away, and much lesse make any resistance. Wherefore (he said) he was become of opinion to retire back amongst the Sogdians, whereas the riuer of Oxus should be as a wal betwixt him and his enemies, till such such time as he might assemble a strōg power of the nations ther about: knowing very well that the Chorasmions, the Dahans, & Sacans, the Indians & Scythians, inhabiting beyond y riuer of Tanais, would come to his assistance: of whom there was none so little, that any Macedon with the top of his head could reach to his shoulders. They all in their drunkennes assented to him, affirming that only to be the wisest way: wher vpon Bessus caused the wine to be caried about plentifully to conquer Alexan. vpon drink. There was at the feast one Cobares

Cobaresa Median, which in the Arte Magike (if it be an Arte, and not rather a disceit of some vaine man) was more notable by his profession then by his knowledge, but otherwise a moderate and an honest man. He making a preamble before his tale, sayd: He was not ignorant how much better it were to bee obedyent to others counsel, then to be a counsell giuer. For such as be folowers of other mens deuises, are sure to haue no worse fortune then the rest: but such as be authors and perswaders of any matter, commonlie prepare their owne perill, and therewith deliuered the Cup he had in his hand, and proceeded thus.

The nature of man in this respect may be called peruers and euill, because euery one can see better in other mens matters then in their owne. Their counsels must needs bee alwayes full of perturbations, which take their owne aduise. For feare is impediment to some, desire vnto other, and to many the selfe loue of the thing that they haue deuised. I will not speake of pride, nor impute it vnto any man. Ye haue scene experience how euery one doth esteeme that thing onely to be best, which hee himselte hath inuented. The Diademe of a king that you weare vpon your head is a great burden: which if it be borne moderatelye, the weight thereof will oppresse the bearer. It is not furie can auaille in this case, but wise and prudent counsaile.

When

When he had spoken these words, he rehearsed a prouerbe commonly vsed amongst the Baccians, which is, that a fearefull dog doth barke more then bite, and that the deepest riuers dooth runne with least noyse. Which things I haue rehearsed, because such prudence may appeare as remayned amongst the Barbarous. As he talked after this manner, such as heard him wondered to what ende his tale would come. Then he began to shew his aduise, which was more profitable to Belus then gratefull.

Alexanders celeritie (quod he) is such that he is come in maner to the enrey of your court. He can remoue his army before you can remoue this table. You say that you will draw your assistance from the riuer of Tanais, and that you will put riuers betwixt you and your enemies. I woulde knowe if he bee not able to folowe, wheresoeuer you shall flye. If the waye bee indifferent, it must needs be most easie and assured to the victorer. And though you thinke feare will make much speede, yet hope is more swift. It were therefore me thinkes expedient to procure the fauour of him that is the mightiest, and yeeld your selfe to the stronger. Howsoeuer he shall accept it, your fortune is more like to bee better that way, then to remayne still an enemy. Consider that you possesse another mans kingdome, and therefore ye may the better departe therewithall. For yee cannot be a iust king, til you receiue the kingdom of him that is able to gine it, and take it away.

This

nourishing neither man, nor bringing forth  
 frute: But with certaine windeſ that come  
 from the Sea of Ponte, the ſande in the  
 plaines is blowne together in heapes, which  
 ſeeme a farre of like great hyls, whereby the  
 accuſtomed wayes bee ſo dammed, that no  
 ſigne of them can appeare. Therefore ſuch  
 as doe paſſe thoſe playnes, uſe to obſerue the  
 ſtarres in the night, as they doe which ſayle  
 the ſeas, by the courſe of them directing their  
 journey. The nightes for the moze parte  
 be brighte then the dayes: wherefore in the  
 day time the countrey is wilde and unpalla-  
 ble, when they can neither ſinde any tracte  
 nor way to go in, nor marke nor ſigne wher-  
 by to paſſe, the ſtarres being hidden by the  
 miſt. If the ſame winde chaunce to come du-  
 ring the time that men bee paſſing, it ouer-  
 whelmeth them with ſand. Where the coun-  
 trey is temperate, it bringeth forth great  
 plenty both of men and horſe: So that the  
 Bactrians may make xxx. thouſand horſe-  
 men. Bactria which is the head citie of that  
 region, ſtandeth vnder a mountaine called  
 Parapaniſus: the riuer called Bactras run-  
 neth by the walles, whereof both the Citie  
 and the countrey take their names. Alexan-  
 der lying there in campe, receiued aduertife-  
 ment out of Grece, how the Macedemoni-  
 ans,

aus, and the whole countrey of Perſoponeſe  
 had rebelled againſt him. For they had not  
 loſt the battaile at ſuch time as the meſſengers  
 were diſpatched that brought the newes of  
 their reuolt. In the neck of this euill tidings  
 there came another preſent terrour, which  
 was that the Scythians inhabiting beyond  
 the riuer of Tanais were comming to apud  
 Beſſus. And at the ſame time tidings came  
 to him of the battaile that Caranus and Eri-  
 gius had fought with the Arians, where Sa-  
 tibarzanes that was newly reuolted being  
 chiefe of the countrey, ſeeing the battaile to  
 remaine equal on both ſides, rid into the fore-  
 front, & plucked of his helmet, forbidding any  
 of his ſide either to caſt dart, or ſtrike ſtroke,  
 and there made a challenge to fight hand to  
 hande, if any man durſt come forth & proue  
 his ſtrength. Erigius captaine to the Mace-  
 dons was a man ſtriken in yeares, but yet not  
 inferiour to any young man, eyther in ſtout-  
 nes of ſtomacke, or ſtrength of bodye, who  
 could not beare the proud arrogancie of Sa-  
 tibarzanes, but ſtepped forwards, & pluck-  
 ing of his helmet likewiſe, ſhewed his hoary  
 hayre. The daue is come (quoth he) that I  
 will ſhewe cyther by the victorie, or by my  
 honeſt death, what kinde of men Alexander  
 hath to his friends and his ſouldiours: and  
 3 With-

without more words made towards his enemy. It could not be iudged, but that both Armies had stayed their hands by appointment. For they gaue back immediately on both sides, to let them haue free scope, each partie standing in expectation what should becom of the challengers: For they could not but thinke themselves partakers of their aduenture. Satiabarzanes first charged his staffe, whiche Erigius auoyded by bending his heade aside, but hee in the middest of his race, strake the other with his speare through the throte, so that it came forth agayne at his necke. Satiabarzanes vpon that stroke fell downe from his horse, but yet made resistance tyll suche time as Erigius plucked the speare out of the wound, and thrust it agayne into his mouth: who to rydde himselfe out of payne, furthered his enemies stroke. Then the Arians seeing theyr Capitayne slayne, whome they had followed rather of necessitie than of theyr owne free willes, called to remembraunce Alexanders benefites, and ycelded themselves vnto Erigius. Alexander reioyced much of the good successe of this matter, doubting greatly the Lacedemonians: but he bare out their rebellion stoutly, saying that they durst neuer disclose their meaning, vntill they knewe hee was come to the confines of

India.

India. Alexander hauing remooued his campe, and going forwardes in the pursuit of Bellus, Eurigius mette him, presenting the spoyle of his enemy, as a memorie of his victorie. Thereupon hee committed the rule of Bactria to Artabafus, where with a garrison he left his carriage, and with a power that was light to iourney, entered into the desertes of the Susitans, conueying his armie by night.

In the want of water (that hath becne declared before) desperation moued them to thirst before they had desire to drinke. For by the space of foure hundred furlonges, they founde no water at all. The vapour of the Sunne being in the Sommer season, did so burne the sande, that when it began to waxe hote, it starched all thinges as it had bene with a continuall fire. And then the light somewhat obscured by a mist that rose out of the earth by the immoderate heat, caused the plains to haue appearance of a maine sea. Their iourney in the night seemed tollerable, because their bodies were somewhat refreshed wth the dewe and the colde of the morning. But when the day came, and the heat rose, then the drought drying vp all the naturall humors: both theyr mouthes and theyr bowels were inflamed for heate. Then their hearts say-

led, and their bodie fainted, being in case that they could neither stande still, nor passe forwards. A few that were taught by such as knew the countrey, had gotten water, which refreshed them somewhat: but as the heate increased, so their desire grew againe to drinke. Then was there no remedy but to giue amongst the souldiers all the wine and oyle that remained in store. For drinke was so swete vnto them, that it tooke away the feare of any thysse to come. But such as had gullled in greedely the water that they got, became so heauy, that they were neither able to beare their armour, nor go forwards: so that they seemed then most happye that had gotten no water at all: for such as had taken of it inordinatly, were enforced by vomit to put vp the same againe. As Alexander carefull in this calamitie stood with his friends that were perswading of him to haue respect to himselfe, for that he ouely, and the greatness of his heart shoulde bee reliefe vnto this aduersitie: There came two souldiers, which going before with such as had taken vp the campe, had found water, & were carying of it in bottels vnto their sonnes, which were sore afflicted for want of drinke behinde in the armie. When they sawe the king, one of them opened his bottle, and filling a cup that hee

had

had, presented water to the king: who receiving it at his hande, demaunded to whome they carryed that water: they sayd to they sonnes. Then he restored to him the cup againe full as it was giuen him, and said: I will not drinke alone: for so little cannot be deuided amongst vs all. Make you hast therefore to carrie to your sonnes that you haue gotten with your trauaile. But he traueled so long, that before night he came to the river of Orus: The more part of the army, not able to follow for feeblenes, were left far behind: to the intent therefore that such as followed after, might know where the camp was become, he caused a fire to be made in the top of an hill, and gaue order, that when the vaward had refreshed themselves with meate and drinke, they shoulde fill their bottles with water, and go backe with the same to relieue their felowes. The breath of such as drunke intemperately closed vp, and they dyed immediately: the number of whom was greater then euer Alexander losse in any battaile. But he would neither put off harnis, refresh himselfe with meate or drinke, nor ease his body: but stood in the waye where his armie passed, not departing till the last man was come into the campe. Hee watched all that night, and passed it ouer in great trouble

The seventh booke  
trouble of minde . And the daye that ensued  
brought no release of his care. For there were  
neither boates to passe the Riuer withall, nor  
he could make any bridge, seeing there was  
no woode growing nye at hande . But at  
length he found out a deuise, whereunto one-  
lye necessitie did driue him . They tooke  
beastes skins and stuffed them full of strawe,  
whereupon they layde themselves, and so  
swome ouer the water. Such as first recou-  
ered the further side, stood in order of battaile  
till the rest were passed: by which meanes in  
sixe dayes he conueyed ouer his whole army.  
Hauing thus passed ouer the riuer of Drus,  
his purpose was to passe forwards in the pur-  
suite of Bessus, till he vnderstood such things  
as had chaunced amongst the Sussians.  
There was one Spitamenes, whom Bessus  
chiefely honoured of all his friends . But  
there be no benefits that can stape a man gi-  
uen to perfiide and falshood: which in him  
was the more toller able, because he iudged no  
mischiefe to great for him that hath slaine his  
prince . For the reuenge of Darius was a  
faire colour to his offence: but it is to bee  
thought, that his present fortune was more  
enuyed, then his doing by past hated. When  
it was knowne that Alexander had passed  
the Riuer of Drus, Spitamenes did associat  
with

with him in counsell of his enterprise Data-  
phernes, & Catenes, whom Bessus specially  
trusted . They agreed to the matter more  
readily than he would desire them, and taking  
to them viii. young men that were strong of  
personage, vled this kinde of policie . Spita-  
menes repaired to Bessus, and getting him  
alone, enformed him that hee had founde out  
howe Dataphernes, and Catenes had con-  
spired to deliuer him aliue into Alexanders  
hands, whereas (he said) hee had preuented  
them, whiles they were about their purpose,  
hauing taken them both, and put them fast in  
prison . Bessus then thinking himselfe much  
bounde to him for so great a good turne, gaue  
him many thanks . And for the desire he had  
to be reuenged of his enemies, willed Spita-  
menes to bring them to his presence . Hee  
caused their handes to bee bounde behinde  
their backes, and to bee brought by such as  
were priue to their confederacie . When  
they came in Bessus presence, hee behelde  
them with a fell countenance, and rose vp  
to haue striken at them . But they left then  
their counterfaiting, and straightwayes en-  
closing Bessus about, bounde him strugling  
in vaine, and pulled the Diademe from hys  
head, tearing his garment from his backe:  
which sometime belonged to his prince,

they vsed their sacrifice: but also plucked vp  
their trees by the rootes, & the ground might  
be left barren as a desert. If the same thinges  
had bene done against the verie offenders, the  
reuenge might haue bene thought righteous:  
but to lay the fault of the predecessors vppon  
the posteritie, it might be thought a cruel act,  
seeing there were not any of them that had  
euer scene *Miletum*, or doone to Xerxes anie  
kind of pleasure. As Alexander remoued frō  
thence towards the riuer of *Tanais*, Bessus  
was brought before him, not onely bound as  
a captiue, but also spoiled of al his garments:  
whom Spitamenes led in a chaine put about  
his necke: a pleasant sight to behold, as well  
to the barbarous, as to the Macedons. When  
Spitamenes was come with him into Alex-  
anders presence, he said:

I haue brought here vnto you, the killer of his  
owne maister, after the same maner that he him-  
selfe gaue the example: Wherin I haue both re-  
uenged Darius that was my king, and you also  
that now haue got the souerainty. Let Darius o-  
pen his eyes, and rise from death, to behold this  
sight, that was vnworthie of such an end, and  
worthie to receiue such a comfort as this is.

After that Alexander had giuen Spita-  
menes thanks, he turned himselfe vnto Bes-  
sus, and said:

What beastly woodnes moued thee to take thine  
owne

owne Prince prisoner, and afterwards to kil him,  
hauing so well deserued of thee: of which thy  
doings thou hast receiued sufficient rewarde, by  
vsurping the counterfaite name of a king.

He had no hart to make answer or excuse  
his offence, saying that he said: he tooke vpon  
him to be king, because he might deliuer him  
possession of the cuntry, which thing if he had  
omitted, some other he saide would take it in  
hand. Then Alexander called for Oxatres  
Darius brother, whom hee had placed about  
his person, and committed Bessus to his kee-  
ping, to the intent he should cut off his eares  
and his nose, and hang him vppon a crosse,  
causing his owne men to shoote him through  
with arrowes, and so preserve his bodie that  
birdes should not touch him. Oxatres pro-  
mised to performe all the rest, saying the kee-  
ping away of the birdes, which for the desire  
he had to set forth Catenes cunning, affirmed  
that none could so well keepe them alway as  
hee, who did shoote so assuredly, that hee  
could strike the birdes flying in the ayre. And  
though it was a cunning not so much to bee  
maruelled at in a Nation so experte in sho-  
ting: yet was it greatly wondered at of such  
as did beholde him, and was great honour  
vnto the doer. Hee gaue rewarde to all such  
as were the bringers of Bessus, but hee de-  
ferred

ferred his punishment, because hee minded to put him to death in the same place where hee slew Darius. The Macedons in the meane season going a foraging without order, were ouerthrowne by the enemies that came running downe from the next mountaines. They tooke no more than they did kill, and driuing they prisoners before them, retired againe vnto the mountaines. There were of them to the number of twenty thousand, which accustomed to liue by the ft, vsing slinges and bowes in their fight, whom whilest Alexander did besiege, and in a skirmish pressed forth with the foremost, he was stricken with an arrow in the midst of his leg, wher the head stuck still. The Macedons that were sorrowfull and amazed for their kings hurt, caried him into his tent, of whose departure out of the fildes his enemies were not ignorant, for they might behold all thinges from the mountaines. The next day they sent Embassadors vnto Alexander, whome he admitted to his presence, & vnfoulding his wound (wherby he thought to dissemble the greatnes therof) shewed his leg vnto them. When they were commaunded to sit downe, they said, that hearing of his hurt, they were as sorrowfull for it as his own subjects, which should well be knowne: for if they could find out the person, that did the deed, hee should

should be deliuered into his hands: they could not (they saide) iudge them but Sacrileges, that would fight with Gods, of whose vertue they supposed him to bee, and therefore were determined to peeld themselves. Thereupon he gaue vnto them assurance, and receiuing againe his men that were taken prisoners, admitted them as his subjects. That doone, he remoued his campe, and was caried in a foot litter: for the bearing wher of the horsemen & footmen contended together. The horsemen alledged it to be their office, because the king vsed to fight among them. And the footmen alledged, that in as much as they vsed to carie the hurt souldiours, they thought no reason their office should be taken from them, chiefly when the king should be carried. Alexander therefore in so great contention of both parts, thought it a difficult matter to giue sentence, because the iudgement should be greuous to them that should be put from the office, and there ordered that they should carry him by course. From thence the fourth day he came vnto a Citie called *Maracanda*, the walles whereof were threescore and ten furlongs about, but the Castle was without any wall: he set a garrison in the Citie, and then burned and destroyed the country thereabouts. Embassadors came vnto him thicher from

from the *Scythes* called *Anians*, which had beene free since the time that *Cirus* was among them: but yet they shewed themselves then readie to bee at his commaundement. They were knowne to be the most righteous people of all the barbarous nations, as men that neuer vsed to make war, but when they were prouoked: whose moderation & temperance in vsing of their libertie, made the inferiours equall vnto the superiours. Alexander receiued them gently, & sent *Penidas* a friend of his to those *Scythes* that inhabited within *Europe*, to forbidde them to passe the riuer of *Tanais* without his appointment: Who had also a secret commission to view the situation of the cuntry, and to visit those *Scythians* that inhabited about *Bosphorus*. Hee willed him besides to choose out a place vppon the brinke of *Tanais*, whereas hee might builde a Citie, to remaine as a fortreffe, for the subduing of those people that he intended to visite. But this deuise was delayed by the rebellion of the *Sogdians*, who had also drawn y<sup>e</sup> *Bactrians* to their part. There were of them vii. thousand horsemen, whose authoritie the rest followed: for the aduantage of whom Alexander caused *Spitamenes* and *Catenes* (the betrayers of *Bessus*) to bee sent for, thinking by their meanes to bring the country agayne to

to his obedience, and to subdue such as had made this stirre. But they which were iudged meete to stay the rebellion, and were sent for that intent, were the chiefe authours of all the reuolt. For they caused it to be noised abroad, that Alexander had sent for the *Bactrian* horsemen of purpose to kil them all: which commission (they saide) being appointed to them, they would not execute, because they thought it ouer foul an act to commit against their countrymen. And for that cause could as ill beare then Alexanders crueltie, as in times past *Bessus* treason. By this meanes when feare of death was put into their heads, they were easily stirred to arms, which before were sufficiently inclined of their owne minds. When Alexander was aduertised of their doinges, he willed *Craterus* to besiege *Ciropolis*. And he himselfe wane another Citie of that country by an assault that he gaue to it on all parts at once, and by a signe giuen, caused all y<sup>e</sup> childre to bee put to death, making the rest a pray for the souldiers. This done the Citie was rased to the ground, to thintent that others by their ensample might be kept in obedience. There was a valiaunt people called *Memagenans*, who were determined to abate the siege, not onely for their honesties sake, but also for that they thought it most for theyr suretie.

For the mitigating of whose wilfulnes, the king sent vnto them sicke horsemen to declare his clementie towardes such as submitted themselves, and howe inexorable he was vnto such as he wau by force. Their answer was, that they neither doubted of the kinges promise, nor of his power: but after their answer giuen, they lodged them without the walles, wheras entertaining them with great cheare vntill it was the deepe of the night, set vpon them, and slew them all. Alexander was no lesse moued with this matter, than the cause required, but made an assault vnto the Citie on all parts at once, which he found furnished in such wise, that hee could not take it at the first attempt. Wherefore he appointed Meleager and Perdicas vnto the siege thereof, which then were besieging of *Ciropolis*, minding to spare the same, because it was builded by *Cirus*. For he had not so great admiration of any king that had raigned in those parts, as of him and *Semiramis*: whose magnanimity of mind, and fame of her great acts seemed to him to exceede all the rest: but the obstinate wilfulnes of the inhabitantes stirred vpon his wrath. For when hee had taken the Citie, hee willed the *Macedons* to spoyle it, which had great cause to be moued against them, and so returned againe to Meleager

and

and *Perdicas*. There was not one citie that did more valiantly abide the siege, than the same did: for both the hardiest of the souldiours were slaine, and the king was brought in great danger, being striken in the neck with a stone, so that his sight fayled him: and was felled to the earth, so that he lost his sense. The army lamented, thinking he had beene dead: but he was invincible against those things, which put other men most in feare. For without tarrying he dressed his wound, returning to the fight, and after anger had stirred vpon the eagernes hee had of nature, hee renewed the assault againe more fiercely then befoze. At length a great peece of the wall was overthrowne by a mine, at which hee brake in, and put the whole Citie to sacke and to ruine. Hee sent from thence *Menedemus* with three thousand footemen, and eight hundred horsemen, to the citie of *Maracanda*, which *Spitamenes* had newly taken, & put out from thence the garrison of the *Macedons*: Yet the Citizens were not of this opinion: but when they saw they could not withstand him, it was of necessitie for them to agree to his wil. Alexander in the meane season came to the ryuer of *Tanais*, where hee inclosed about with a wal so much ground as his camp did contain, extending in compasse threescore furlonges,

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and

and named the same citie Alexandria. This thing was done with such expedition, that within seuentene dayes after the wals were vp, the houses also were builded. And y<sup>e</sup> whole was performed in a very small season, though the contention amongst the souldiours, who should performe his worke first, when the same was diuided into portions among them. Their prisoners (whose ransomes Alexander payde to their takers) were appointed to inhabite this Citie. The descent of whom after so long time are not yet worne out: for the fauour hath bene shewed to them, in the memorie of Alexander. The king of Scythia, whose Empire was then beyond the river of *Tanais*, iudging that the fortifying vpon the rivers side, should bee as a yoke to his necke, sent his brother Carcas with a great power of horsemen to defeat the fortification, and to remooue away the Macedons from the waters side. That river diuideth the Bactrians from the Scythians of Europe, & is the limite which parteth Asia and Europe asunder. But the countreyes that the Scithes inhabite, doe stretch as farre as *Thracia*, and lie betwixt the North and the East, ioyning with *Sarmacia*, and possessing parte of it. The countrey also that lyeth beyond the River of *Ister* is inhabited by them, their uttermost bounds stretch-

stretching to *Bactria*, & to the further bounds of Asia Northwards, where as bee wonderful great woods and wild deserts. But such of them as bounded neare vnto *Tanais* and *Bactria* lacked not much the ciuilitie of other Nations. This beeing the first time that Alexander had to doe with these people, when he saw that then he had to enter into a warre, for the which hee was not prouided, his enemies riding vp and downe in his sight, and he diseased of his wound, especially not hauing the vse of his speech, which fayled much by reason of his long abstinence, and the payne in his necke: called his friends to counsell, and declared vnto them that he was not troubled with any feare of his enemies, but with the iniquitie of the time, the Bactrians rebelling, and the Scythians prouoking him, when neyther hee was able to stand vpon the ground, strong enough to ryde on horse backe, or in case to giue aduise or exhortation to his menne. In consideration therefore of the doubtfull daunger hee sawe himselfe wrapt in, hee accused the Gods, complaining that hee was then enforced to lye still as a stocke, whose swiftnesse before tyme none was able to escape. The matters grew so great, that his owne men beleued hee had counterfeited his sickness for feare. And therefore he

with a broken and weake voice, so that they could scarcely bee heard of such as were next him. But when his meaning was perceyued, all that were present went about to fray him from so rash an enterpryse. But Erigius work chiefly in the matter, which perceiuing that his authoritie could not preuaile against the kings obstinate mind, attempted to work him by religion, which hee iudged of greater force. For he declared that the Gods were against his determination, which had signified great perill to ensue, if he passed the riuer. He said he had vnderstood that thing by Aristander, who tolde him at his coming into the pavilion, what hee had perceyued in the beasts intrails. Alexander vpon his words was wonderfully troubled both with anger & shame, when he saw the secrets of the religion brought to light, which he thought to haue kept secret to himselfe: and therefore caused Erigius to go aside, & Aristander to be called in vnto him, whom he behelde in the face, and said:

I seem to thee rather a priuate man than a king: I commanded thee to make sacrifice, & thou hast declared the signification thereof to other, & not to me. For Erigius by the report knoweth the priuities pertaining to me: But sure I iudge that thorough his owne feare he deuised an interpretation of himself. Therefore let me heare of thine owne  
mouth

mouth. What thou hast found in the intrails, to the intent thou shalt not denie that thou hast spoken.

Aristander thereupon was amazed, and looked pale, not able to answere one word for feare. But at length the same feare that made him hold his peace, pricked him forwardes to speake, least the prolonging of the kinges expectation might prouoke him vnto further wrath, answered:

I saide (quod hee) there was in the enterpryse great danger and difficultie: but yet that your attempt should not bee in vaine. There is nothing that I haue peerceiued by my science troubleth me so much, as the loue I beare to you wardes: for I both consider your infirmitie, and what a moment consisteth in your owne person, fearing you should not be able to indure the thinges that fortune is disposed to giue vnto you.

When Alexander heard him speake after that manner, he willed to haue confidence in his felicitie, to whome fortune had graunted glorie in greater thinges, and thereupon dismissed him: Afterwardes as the king was debating with such as hee consulted with before, by what meanes hee should passe the riuer: Aristander came amongst them, affirming that he had found the intrails contrary to that hee did before, with as likely signes of good successe as any that euer he sawe, shewing them then as great causes to reioice, as he did before to feare. But immediately here-

best to doe. And diuers times he lifted by his tent to behold the fires in his enemies camp, thereby to coniecture theyr number. When the day appeared, hee put on a corselet, and came forth amongst the souldiours, being the first time they had seene him since hee receyued his hurt. They bare such a veneration vnto their King, that with his presence onely they put away the remembraunce of the feare which caused them before to shrinke, and reioiced so hartily, that when they saluted him, the teares distilled from their eyes, and earnestly required the sight which before they had refused. Hee tooke order there amongst them that the horsemen, & such as were of the square battaile of footmen should be carried ouer in boates, and that the lyghte armed should swimme vppon bottels. Neither the matter required any more to be spoken, nor the King could not say much more by reason of his infirmitie. For the souldiours went about the matter with such good will & chearfulness of minde, that within thre daies they had finished twelue thousand boats. When all thinges were prepared in readines for their passage, there came xx. Embassadors of the Scythians riding by the camp, which required that it might be declared to the king, that they had matter in comission to declare to him.

When

When they were receiued into his paultion, and commanded to sit downe, they fixed their look continually vpon the kings countenance whereby it was thought, that weighing the greatnesse of his courage by his personage that they saw present, it appeared vnto them but small in respect of the same they heard of him. The wits of the Scythians be not rude and without knowledge, as other barbarous people be. For it is said that many of them attaine to such learning as is possible for a nation being alwayes in exercise of the warres. Whose wordes spoken vnto Alexander be left in memorie: which though they differre from the manner of vs that haue happened in more ciuill times, and framed our selues to a more humanitie: yet the fidelitie of the matter is not to be despised, though the phrase of their speech is not allowed. And therefore I shall declare vncorruptly the sayings which the eldest of those Embassadors did speak after this manner.

If the Gods had giuen thee a bodie according to the vnfatiable desire of thy minde, the worlde should not be able to receiue thee, but shouldest touch the Orient with one hand, & the Occident with the other: which thing once obtained, thy care should be to become equall to the Goddes. Thus thou dost couet the thing thou art not able to compasse. From Europe thou goest into Asia,  
and

## The seventh booke

and from Asia passe into Europe. It must come to passe, that if thou ouercome all mankind thou muste keepe warre with woodes and snowes, with riuers & wilde beastes. What? art thou ignorant that trees do grow till they be great, and then be plucked vp from the roote in a moment? Hee is a foole, that doth couet the frute, and considereth not theight of the tree whereon it groweth. Take heed least whiles thou doest labour to attaine to the top, thou fallest with the bowes which thou dost embrace. The Lyon hath been sometime the foode of small birdes, and the rust doth consume the yron. There is nothing so sure that is not in danger of his inferiour. What haue we to do with thee? Wee neuer touched thy countrey. It is not lawfull for vs that liue in the waste wooddes, to be ignorant what thou arte, & from whence thou comest? We can neither be subiect to any man, nor to desire to rule ouer any creature. And because ye shall not be ignorant of the state of our nation, we haue certaine giftes in proper vnto vs the yoake of Oxen, the Plough, the Speare, the Bowe and the bowle: which bee the thinges that we vse both with our frendes, and against our enemies. Wee do geue vnto freends, of the fruites gotten with our labor. With the Bowle we sacrifice Wine vnto the Goddes. With the bowe wee strike our enemies a farre of, and with the speare neere at hand. After that sort in times past, we ouercame the king of Scithia, and afterwards the king of Persie and Media, making the way open to vs into Egypt. But thou which dost glorye, that art come to be a persecuter of theeues, art a robber of all nations, that thou comest amongst. Thou hast taken Lidia, possessed Siria, enioyed Persia, and haste the Bactreans vnder thy power.

Thou

## of Quintus Curtius.

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Thou dost visite the Indies, and now streatchest forth thy rauonous hands vnto our cattell. Why doest thou couet that riches that causeth thee to be poore? Thou arte the first of all men which with abundaunce hast prepared thy selfe hunger and that with the more thou hast, the more greedely thou doest couet the thinges thou haste not. Dcest thou not remember howe long thou hast stucked about Bactria. And whiles thou goest about to subdue them, howe the Sogdians beginne to rebell? Thus warre dooth growe vnto thee of thy victory. For be thou neuer so great and puissant, aboue any other, yet there be none that can endure to bee gouerned by straungers. Passe now Tanais: thou shalt perceiue what bredth it beareth, and yet thou shalt neuer ouertake the Scithians, whose pouerty is swifter then thy armie, carrying the spoile of so many nations. For when thou shalt thinke vs to be farre of, thou shalt seevs within thy campe: with like swiftnes, we follow, and flie away. I heare that our deserts be scorned by the Greeke prouerbes, wee couet rather those deserts and places vnhabited then Cities and plentifull countreys. I therefore hold thou thy fortune fast: for she is slipper and cannot bee kept against her will. Follow thou the counsaile that is good, specially whiles the time doth serue. Put a bridle to thy fel citie, and thou shalt gouerne it the better. Wee say that fortune is without feete, and that she hath only handes & winges: but when she putteth forth her hand, she will not suffer her winges to be touched. If thou bee a God, then giue benefits vnto mortall men, and take not away the commodities they haue alreadye. If thou be a man consider alwaye thine owne estate. It is foolish to remember those things

things which cause thee to forget thy selfe. Such as by warre thou makest thine enemies, by peace thou mayest make them thy very friendes. The most firme friendship is amongst them that bee equall; and they seeme equall, which haue not yet made anie triall of their force. Take heede thou take them not for thy friends, whom thou diddest subdue and bring to subiection. Ther is no friendship betweene the Lorde and the slaue: and in peace the lawe of armes is obserued. Thinke not that the Scythians doe confirme their friendship with anie oath: for they thinke they sweare in keeping of their faith. The custom of the Greeks is to iustifie their doings by calling their Gods to witnesse: But wee acknowledge religion to consist in the faith it selfe. They that do not their due reuerence vnto men, deceyue the Goddes. Thinke not those friendes to bee necessarie vnto thee, of whose good will thou shalt need to doubt. Thou mayest vse vs as keepers both of Europe & Asia, for wee shoulde ioyne with Bactria but that Tanais doth deuide vs: And beyond Tanais our dominion stretcheth so farre as Thracia, and the same is, that Thracia confineth with Macedon. Consider therefore whether it bee necessarie for thee or no, to haue vs as friendes or foes to both thine Empires.

These were the Scythians words, to whom the King made answer:

That hee would both vse his owne fortune, and their counsaile that aduised him well. Hee would followe his fortune (hee sayde) because hee had great confidence in it, and other mens counsaile, because he would do nothing rashly, nor vpon a sodaine.

Ther-

Thereupon he dismissed the Embassadors, & imbarked his armie in the boats he had prepared. In the foreparts of the boats hee set such as had targets, willing them to kneele vpon their knees for their more safegard against shot of arrowes. And they were placed behind them that had the charge of the Engins, who before and on both sides were inclosed with armed men. The rest that stood beyonde the Engins, being armed themselves, defended with targets such as rowed. The same order was also obserued in those boats that carried ouer the horsemen. The more part drew their horses after them by the reynes, swimming at the boates taile, and such as were carryed vpon trusses filled with straw, were defended by the boates that rowed betwixt them and their enemies. Alexander with such men as he had chosen to be about his person, first launched from the land, and directed his course towards the further side. The Scythians came against them with their horsemen in order of battaile, standing vpon the brinke of the further shore to let their landing: whose shew being a terrour to the Macedons, they had also another cause of feare in their passing ouer. For the boat maistrs were not able to keepe their course against the force of the streame. And the souldiours swaying to and fro, for the

the doubt they had to fall in the water, troubled the mariners in dooing of their office. By reason whereof the Macedons could not haue scope to cast their darts with any force, taking more care howe to place themselves out of perill, then for to annoy their enemies. Their engins stood them in great neede, which seldome did shoote in vaine against their enemies that stood thicke before them, profering to resist their landing. When the Scythians saw them neere the shoare, they did shoot an infinite number of arrowes into the boates, so that there was not in manner any target that had not many heads sticking in it. At length the boates arriued at the land: then the target men did rise vpon their feete, and hauing more scope and sure footing, threw their darts more certainlie and with greater force: whereby percesuing their enemies to shrink, and reue backe their horses, they then leaped cheerefully vnto the land, one exhorting and encouraging another, and freely pursued them, whom they saw fall out of arrape. By that time Alexanders horsemen which had assembled themselves in troupes, brake vpon their enemies, and put them to great disorder. In the meane season the rest being defended by them that were fighting, landed and prepared themselves to the

the battaile. Nor Alexander letted not with stoutnes of courage to supplie the impotency of his body. His voice could not bee heard when he spake and exhorted his men (the scar of his wound not yet closed) but all men might see him fighting. Therefore euerie one vsed the office of a capitaine in giuing exhortation vnto his fellows, and ranne vpon their enemies without respect of their owne liues. Then the Scythians could not endure any longer the countenance, the force, nor the crye of their enemies, but being all on horsebacke fled away vpon the spurres: whom the King pursued fourescore furlongs, notwithstanding that with great paine hee endured his infirmitie. When his hart fainted, he commanded his men that they should follow still in the chase so long as the day lasted: and not hauing strength to sustaine any further traualle, returned into his campe to rest himself. The Macedons in their pursuite passed the bounds of Bacchus: in monument of whom there were great stones set vp of equall distance, and high trees whose stockes were couered ouer with Iuie. But no bounds could be a stay to the Macedons, being carryed forwards in their furie: for it was midnight before they returned againe to their camp: who hauing killed many, and taken a great num-

ber of prisoners, did drine before them a thousand eight hundred horses. There were slaine of the Macedons threescore horsemen: of the footmen to the point of a thousand one hundred were hurt. This enterpryse with þe fame of the victorie falling in so good season, kepte the more part of Asia in obedience, which was of the point to haue rebelled. For they belceued that the Scythians were inuincible: who beeing vanquished, they iudged no nations able to withstand the power of the Macedons. The Sacans therfore after this victorie, sent their embassadors vnto Alexander, offering themselves to come vnder his obedience. To the doing wherof they were not so greatly moued with feare of his force, as they were with report of his clemencie vsed towards the Scythians, after he had discomfited them. For he deliuered home al their prisoners without ransome, to witnes vnto the world that he made war with these fierce nations to shew his power & his vertue, & not for any malice, nor to shewe his wrath vpon the. That was the cause that he so gently receiued the embassadors of the Sacans, causing Excipimus to accompany them: who being a beautiful yong man in þe first flower of his youth, was in that respect in great fauor & familiarity with Alexander: in personage

he was like Ephestion, but inferior to him in pleasantnes of speech. After this Alexander giuing order to Craterus to followe him by smal iourneys with the greater part of his army, he himself came to the cite of *Mara-canda*, frō whence Spitamenes that heard of his comming was fled into *Bactria*. The king therfore making great iourneys foure dayes continually, came into the place whereas vnder the conduct of Menedemus hee had lost 2000. footmen, & 300. horsemen. Whose bones he caused to be gathered together, celebrating their funerals after their country maner. By that time Crategus with the Phalanx was come to the king: & to thintent he might punish with the sword all such as had rebelled: he diuided his power into diuers parts, commanding them to burne in euery place wher they went, and to kil all the children. The country of the Sogdians for the more part is wast, by reason of the great deserts that stretch ouerthwart the country. The river called *Politimetum* passed in maner through the length of it, which runneth a space violently in a narrow chanel, and then is receiued into a hole of the earth, from whence it passeth vnderneath the ground: whose course is manifest by the noyse of the water that may bee heard. And yet on al the ground vnder the which so great

a riuer doth runne, there doth not appeare any moysture put forth. Of the captiues that were taken amongst the Sogdians, there were thirtie of the most noble brought to Alexander: which vnderstanding by an interpreter, that by the kinges commaundement they should be put to executiō, began as men in mirth to sing and daunce, and by a certaine lasciuious motion of their bodies exprest a great ioyfulness of the mind. Alexander maruelling that they tocke their death with such stoutnes and magnanimitie of heart, called them vnto him, enquiring why they shewed so great a gladnes, when they had death before their face. They answered that if they had beene put to death by any, sauing by such a one as he was, they should haue taken their death sorrowfully. But now seing they should be restored vnto their predecessors by a King that was a conquerour of all nations, they reioiced in their honest death, as the thing that all men should wish and desire. The king then maruelling at their magnanimitie. Enquire of you (quod he) if you can be content to liue, and become friends to him, by whose benefite you shall receiue life. They said, that as they neuer were his enemies (but as they were prouoked by occasion of the warres) euen so if he would make an experiment of them rather by a be-  
nefit,

nefit than an iniury, they would labour not to be ouercome in good will, nor in dooing the thing that pertained to their dutie. He asked what pledge they would lay of their promise, they said, their liues they had receiued should be their pledge ready to bee yeelded againe, when it were required. Therein they brake no promise: for such of them as were returned home into their country, kept the people in good obedience: and foure of them that were appointed to be of the kings gard, gaue place to none of the Macedons in loue or affection towards their prince. When hee had ordered all things amongst the Sogdians, he left Peucolaus there with three thousand men of war, & remoued into Bactria, frō whence he commanded Bessus to bee caried to Ecbatān, there to suffer death for the killing of Darius. About the same time Ptolomeus and Menidas brought three thousand footmen, & a thousand horsemen of mercenary souldiours: and one Aleander came to him out of Licia with three thousand footmen, and five hundred horsemen. Asclepeodorus had leuyed like number out of Siria. Antipater sent eight thousand Greekes, amongst whō there were five hundred horsemen. When hee had thus increased his armie with the supplie of his new power, he went about in euerie place

to quiet those sturs that had beene rased by  
by the rebellion. And hauing slaine them that  
were the authoꝝ and beginnerz thereof, the  
fourth day came to the riuer of *Oxus*, which  
being a water vnwholesome to be drunk (be-  
cause it is euer troubled and full of mud) the  
*Macedons* fell to digging of welles: & when  
by digging deepe they could find no water, a  
spring sodainly appeared in the kinges tent,  
which because it was not found at the first,  
they fayned it to come by miracle. Therwith  
the king was pleased, & contented men should  
beleue that the same was sent by the gift of  
God. When he had passed y<sup>e</sup> riuers of *Ochus*  
and *Oxus*, they came vnto a city called *Mar-*  
*ginia*, neare vnto the which hee chose out pla-  
ces for the building of six townes: wherof he  
planted two towards the South, and foure  
towards the East: euery one distant a small  
pace from an other, to the intent that they  
mutuall assistance in time of neede should not  
be farre to seeke. They were all situate vpon  
high hills, as byidels to keepe vnder those  
wilde Nations. But now they haue forgot-  
ten their originall, and be subiect vnto those  
they were woont to rule. The King hauing  
subdued all the rest, one Rocke onely remay-  
ned, which *Arimazes* a *Sogdian* had taken  
with thirtie thousand armed men, & furnished  
the

the same of victuals for two yeres. The same  
rocke was thirtie furlongs in height, and an  
hundred & fiftie about, being in al parts steep  
and broken, hauing one straight path onely to  
passe vpon to it. In the mid way to the top it  
had a caue which was narrow and dark in the  
entry: but by litle and litle it waxed wider, &  
had more large lodgings within for a great  
multitude, and was besides so full of springs,  
that when they met together, they ran downe  
the rocke like a great riuer. Alexander be-  
holding the strength of this place, and the dif-  
ficulty to win it, determined to depart from  
thence. But there entered sodenly into his hart  
a desire to weary nature, and wooꝝke against  
her power. Yet before that he would attempt  
the fortune of any siege, hee sent *Cophes* the  
son of *Artabazus* to perswade them to giue  
it ouer. *Arimazes* vpon trust of the strength  
of the place, answered in al things arrogant-  
ly, but specially in that he asked if *Alexan-*  
der could sie. Which wordes reported to the  
king, did put him in such a furie, that straight  
waies he called for such as hee vsed to consult  
withall, declaring the pride and presumption  
of *Arimazes*, and after what manner he had  
scorned him. But shortly (he saide) he would  
deuise such a pollicie, that hee would make  
him thinke the *Macedons* had winges. Hee

required them therefore that out of the whole army they would choose out and bring to him three hundred of the most light yooing menne which had beene accustomed to dzine beastes amongst the rockes and straight paths of the mountaines: wherupon they brought such to the king, as both for lightnes of body, & hardines of hart were most meete for such a purpose: Unto whom he said:

My fellowes that that bee of mine owne age, with you haue I wonne Cities that were counred inexpugnable, and haue passed the tops of mountaines couered continually with snow. With you I haue gone through the straights of Silicia, and haue without wearines sustained the violence of the cold: whereby I haue experience of you, and you of me. The rocke which you see hath but one entrie, which our enemies doe obserue, the reste they neglect. They keepe no watch but towards our campe. If you diligently search, you shall find some way to bring you to the toppe. Nature hath made nothing so high, but that it may be attained to by the industrie of man. In putting thinges in prooffe, whereof other haue dispaired, wee haue gotten Asia into our possession: Deuise you the meanes to get vp into the toppe, which when you haue taken, you shal giue a token to me by setting vp of some white cloth. You shall see me then com forwardes with my power, and turne the enemies from you towards me. Hee shall haue ten talents for a reward that doth recouer the top first, & he that getteth vp next, shall haue one lesse, and the like order shall be obserued with ten of the first. I am assured you regard not so much my liberali-

litic,

litic, as my fauour.

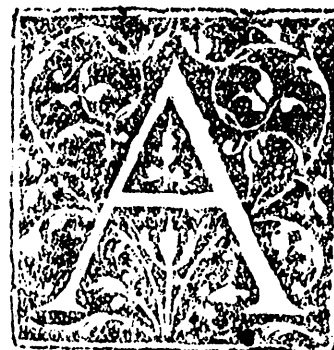
When they had heard the king speake after that maner, they imagined the thing won, and departing out of his presence, prepared strong ropes & iron hookes which they might fasten to the rockes, and so cline by. The king brought them about the rocke, wheras it seemed least steepe and most plaine to mount vpon, and in the second watch willed them to passe forwarde with good speed. They being furnished with two dayes victuals, & armed onely with swords and speares, at first went forwarde without any great difficultie. But when they came to the steepnes of the rocke, some tooke hold on the broken crags to lift vp themselves, and some fastening their hookes on the rockes, clame vp by the ropes. They were compelled to rest and stay diuers times, and so consumed the day in trauaile & feare. When they had passed many difficult places, further difficulties alwayes appeared, the height of the rocke seeming to grow more & more. When they fayled eyther of their hold, or of their footing, it was a miserable thing to see how they fell downe headlong, shewing to the other by their misfortune, an ensample what was likely to come of them. Notwithstanding at length through all these difficulties they got vp vnto the top, where they all wea-

but called Cophes againe in great hast, who was departed away, and sent with him vnto Alexander thirtie of the chiefe men, authorized to yeeld vpon the rocke, with composition for to depart in safegard. But Alexander notwithstanding that he doubted least his enemies discovering the sewnes of his men, might put them to distresse: yet trusting in the felicitie of his owne fortune, and offended with the pride of Arimazes: would agree to no condition, but that they should yeeld simply. Arimazes thereupon despairing more of his estate, than he had cause, descended down to the campe with the chieftest of the Nation that were of kinne to him. All the which Alexander caused to be scourged with rods, and be crucified at the foot of the rock. The multitude that yeelded, with the money that there was taken, were given in gift to the inhabitants of the new Cities. And the rule of the said rocke was committed vnto Artabazus, with the charge of the country therabout.

The



## The eight booke of Quintus Curtius, of the actes of Alexander the great King of Macedon.



Alexander hauing won this rocke with greater fame than glory, because his enemies remayned in no place certaine, it was necessary for him to separate his power, and so diuided his armie into three partes. He gaue the charge of the one part to Ephestion, to Cenon the other, and tooke the third part vnto himselfe. His enemies were not all of one opinion: for some of them seeing their defence could not auaille, yeelded themselves before the sight, to whom he gaue the Cities and the lands of those that continued stil his enemies. But the outlawes of Bactria with eight hundred horsemen wasted the villages of Massagets. For the request whereof Artimas gouernor of that country, went against them with three hundred horse-

This Lisimachus on a time hunting in Syria, killed onely by himselfe alone an huge Lyon. But yet he was torne to the bones vnder his left shoulde, and put in great danger of his life. Which being the matter that Alexander meant, he perfozmed with þ worde no lesse then he promised: for he did not onely receiue the Lyon, but killed him with one stroke. Thereupon the fable did rise, how Alexander should haue cast Lisimachus to a Lyon. But though Alexanders chance was good herein: yet the Macedons knewe that by the custome of his cuntry hee should not haue hunted on foote without the chiefest of his nobilitie and friends about him. He killed within that parke foure thousand wild beasts and there did banquet his armie, returning afterwards to *Maracanda*. Artabalus excusing himselfe there by his age that hee was vnapt for the rule of that cuntry, Alexander committed the same to Clitus, being the man that defended him with his target when he was fighting bare headed at the Riuer of *Granicke*, and there cutte off with his sworde Rhofacoris hand, that was in a readinesse to strike the King. He was an olde souldiour of Philip his father, and notable by many feats of warre that hee had doone. Hellanice his sister was Alexanders nurse, whome he loued

ued no lesse than his own mother. For these causes he committed the strongest part of his Empire to his fidelitie. The king that purposed to set forward his iourney the next day, made the same night a solempne banquet: wherein being ouer great an aduauiter of himselfe) when he was chafed with drinking: began to set forth the actes that he had done, in such sort that his words offended the eares of such as knew them to be true. The auncient men kept silence, till such time as hee began to deface the doings of Philip his father, aduauiting the notable victory at *Cheroneſe* to be his deed: the glorie wherof he said, was taken from him by the malice and enuy of his father. For he alledged how in the mutinie which rose betweene the Macedons and the Grecke souldiours, when Philip lay hurt of a wound which hee receiued at a fray, thought himselfe sure no otherwise than to counter hit to bee dead: when he defended his body with his buckler, & slew them with his owne hand that ranne vppon his father to haue kylled him. Which act (hee sayde) his father would neuer gladly confesse, nor neuer could abyue to acknowledge his safegard to come by his sonne. He also declared, how after the iourney he made by himselfe into *Illiria*, in writing vnto his father, hee ascribed the victo-

rie vnto himselfe, which ouerthrew his enemies, and put them to flight when Philip was away. He saide that in his opinion it deserved but small commendation to make a journey into *Samothracia*, when Asia ought to haue bene spoyle & burnt. Nor he thought no man worthe praise indeed, but such as doe so great actes, as may exceede all mens credite. The yong men that were present were glad to heare these words and such other like: but they were vngratefull to the auncientes: especially for Philip his cause, vnder whome they had long serued. Then Clitus which in like case was not verie sober, turned to suche as sate beneath him, rehearsing verses of Euripides, whereof the king might rather heare the sound than the wordes. The effecte of them was, that the Greeks did euil, which in the monuments of theyr victories, did subscribe onely the names of theyr Kinges, whiche vsurped the glorie vnto themselves, that other menne did wyne by the shedding of theyr blood. Alexander therefore which iudged his wordes to haue bene worse than they were, inquired of suche as sate nexte him, what Clytus sayde. But when they kepte silence: Clytus with a lowder voyce rehearsed in order Philips dooings, and the warres hee made in Greece, preferring them

before

before any actes done since that time: whereupon there did rise a contention between the yong menne and the olde. But the King imposing a patience in himselfe, when hee heard Clitus deface his prayse, conceived a wonderfull wrath in his mind. Yet it seemed that he would haue bridel his affection, if Clytus would haue made an end of his presumptuous talke. But when he would not cease, he gaue occasion to Alexander to be further moued. Clytus then did proceede so farre forth, that hee durst defende Parmenio his case, and preferred the victorie that Philip waane of the Athenians before the destruction of *Thebes*. And going further and further, not onely through drunkennes, but even by a frowardnes of a contentious mind, at length saide:

If we must die through thee Clitus is the first: For they receiue greatest rewardes of thy victorie, that can most shamefully deface thy fathers memorie. The countrey of the Sogdians is given vnto mee, that hath so often rebelled: & now is not onely vnsubdued, but such a one as by no means can be brought to subiection. I am plac'd amongst those wild beastes that bee of such vncivil disposition. But I could passe over things pertaining vnto my selfe: if the souldiours of Philip were not despyed: forgetting that if the old Atharins had not turned againe the yong men, when they gaue ouer the fight, wee had yet staid about *Alicarnazus*. Howe is it then that

C c 2

Asia

Asia is conquered with these yong men : But I see it is true that your vncle said in Italy: he chanced vpon men, and you vpon women.

There was nothing that Clitus spake or did in his rashnes, that moued more the king, than the honorable mention made of Parmenio: yet for all that he kept in his griefe, and did no more but commanded him to auoyd eut of the place, and spake no other words, sauing that he said: If thou tallest a little longer, I thinke thou wilt braid mee with the sauing of his life: whereof in very deede he would often times proudly aduance himselfe. But notwithstanding that the king had willed him to depart, yet tarried he still, and would not rise: And therefore such as sate next him, tooke him by the armes to lead him away, blaming, and giuing him exhortation, for his better vsage. When Clitus saw himself drawn forth against his will, Ire was added to his drunkennes, and declared then aloud how that he with his brest defended the kings backe: but now when the good turne was past, the verie memorie of his benefit was hated: and therewith layde to his charge the death of Attalus, and finally mocked the Oracle of *Iupiter*, whome Alexander claymed to bee his father, and said that he tolde him better truth than his father did.

At

At those wordes the king was styred vnto such wrath, as he could scarcely haue borne beeing sober. But hauing then his senses ouercome with drinke, leaped sodainly from the table. His friendes were amazed, which throwing downe the cuppes for haste, rose to wayt the ende of the thing, they sawe him goe about in such a furie. He tooke a speare out of a Squires hande, and would haue striken Clitus, that was yet raging with the intemperance of his tongue: but he was stopped by Ptholomeus and Perdicas, who tooke him in their armes, and stayed him for all his striuing: And Lisimachus and Leonatus tooke away the speare. Then he called to his guard for aide, crying out that he was taken by his next friends, as Darius was of late, and willed the trumpet to bee blowne, that the armed men might assemble vnto the court. Then Perdicas and Ptholomeus fell downe vpon their knees, requirring him that hee woulde not perseuer in his wrath, which hee so sodainly had conceived, but rather respite his displeasure, seeing y he might the next day much better order the matter. But his wrath preuailed so much, that his eares were shut vp, and he ranne in a furie amongst the watchmen, plucking a speare out of one of their handes, which once gotten,

Ec 3

hee

test thing that increased his sorrow, was the amazement of his friends, when he saw them shrink from him, and that none of them after that deede done, would gladly vse such familiar communication as they did before. Then hee perceiued that hee should liue as a wilde beast in a desert, both fearing others, and also afrayd himselfe. The next morning hee commaunded the body bloudy as it was, to be brought into his chamber, which when he sawe lying before him, fell in weeping, and sayde:

Shall I after this sort requite my Nurice, whose two sonnes slayne for my sake at Miletum, I haue nowe killed her brother (that was her onely ioy) at myne owne boord? What refuge shall that wretched woman haue? I was all the comforte that did remayne to her, and now she shall neuer bee glad to beholde mee. Shall I the wicked killer of my preseruers, retourne into my countrey, when I shall not bee able to present my hand vnto my Nurice without the remembraunce of her miserie?

When he could put no ende to these kind of bewailinges and complaintes, the body was taken away by the appointment of his friends. After hee had layen three dayes shutte vp in his chamber, sorrowing after this manner, the Squires and such as had the keeping of his person, seing him giue obduracy to death brake into his lodging, and with great payne brought

brought him (though he long withstood their prayers) at length to take some reliefe and sustenance. And to the entent he should be the lesse ashamed of Clytus death, the Bacedons decreed that he was lawfully killed, and would not suffer him to be buried, but that the king commaunded it. Having consumed ten dayes at Paracanda, speciallye to confirme the shame hee had conceyued of Clytus death, sent Ephestion with parte of his armie into Bactria to prouide victualles against winter: and committed the same prouince vnto Amintas, which before hee had giuen to Clytus. From thence he went into a countrey called Zenippa, that confineth with the Scythians: which being well inhabited and ful of villages, both with the plentifulnes thereof, not only deteine the inhabitants to dwell there still, but also inuiterh strangers to come amongst them. The same was a refuge to the outlawes of Bactria that still rebelled: but after Alexanders conning was knowne, they were driuen forth by the countrey men, and two thousand and two hundred of their horsemen assembled together, which were accustomed to liue by theft and spoile in time of peace: whome not onely the warre but also dispaire of forgiveness, had made moze cruel, and their wild dispo-

The eight booke  
dispositions worse. They gaue an onset so-  
deinly by Amintas, that was Darius lieut-  
enant. The battaile was long doubtfull be-  
twixt them: but finally they lost vii. hundred  
of their number, wherof iii. C. were take pr-  
isoners, and turned their backs to the victo-  
rours, not without a reuenge: for they slue  
of them iiii. score, besides lii. hundred and x.  
that they wounded. And yet notwithstanding  
after this second rebellio, they obtained par-  
don: when Alexander had brought them to  
obedience, he came with his whole army into  
a countrey called Maura, the Lorde wherof  
was called Sisimithres, who had gotten two  
sonnes by his owne mother, it being lawfull  
there for the parents to vse theyr children.  
The same Sisimithres with two thousand  
armed men fortified and kept the streight at  
the entrey of the countrey where as it was  
most narrow. The passage was defended both  
a riuer and with a rocke, through the which  
rocke the waye was made by force of hand.  
The light is receiued in at the entrie: but  
further inward there is none, but such as me-  
bring with them. From this rocke there goeth  
a vault vnderneath the ground, that hath issue  
into the fields, which bee not knowne but to  
such as be of the same countrey. Though this  
streight was naturally strong, & defended be-  
sides

of Quintus Curtius. 115  
sides by a strong power: that letteth not A-  
lexander to attempt it, but brought engines  
which they call *Arietes*, to beate downe such  
fortification as was made with hande, and  
with slinges and shot of arrowes, did beate  
his enemies from the places of their defence.  
When he had driuen them away, hee passed  
through the fortifications he had wonne, and  
made appoche to the rocke. But the streame  
that growe of the assembly of waters falling  
from the mountaine, was an impediment to  
him therein. It seemed a wonderfull worke  
to fill the chaneil of the Riuer: yet he caused  
trees and stones to be brought to the place, &  
set the thing in hand. When his enemies that  
neuer had seene any such worke before, sawe  
the worke rise sodenly like a mountain, were  
put in a maruailous feare, which the king  
supposing they might haue beene brought to  
render it vp: sent one Oxiartes of the same  
nation to perswade Sisimithres to render y<sup>e</sup>  
rocke. And in the meane season to put them  
in more terror, he caused towers of wood to  
be brought forwards, & did shoot with engins  
so out of the same, that the enemies forsaking  
all other strengths, retired into the top of the  
rock. Oxiartes finding Sisimithres in this  
feare, perswaded him rather to proue Alex-  
anders beneuolence then his force: & seeing  
all

Lisimachus diuers times for all that proffered to him his horse. But in no wise hee would depart from the king, notwithstanding that hee had on his Corselet and all his Armour. When the king passed through a woode where his enemies laye in embusshment, he fought notably and rescued the king fighting with his enemies. But after they were put to flighte and driuen out of the woods, the greatnes of his courage, which had susteyned him in the heate of the fight, fainted with his body, & being all on a sweat, leaned himselfe to a tree, which did not so stay him, but that he fell to the earth, and being taken vp againe by the kings handes, shooke downe from him and dyed. The king being sorrowfull for his death, receyued another tidings, no lesse to be lamented. For before hee came to his Campe, hee was aduertised of the death of Brigius, one of his notable Capitaines: whose funerals were both celebrated with great pompe and ceremonies of honour.

From thence hee determined to goe vnto the Dahans, where he vnderstood that Spitamenes was. But Fortune that neuer ceased to fauour him, finished that iourney of his, as shee did manye other. Spitamenes was enflamed with the ouermuch

loue

loue of his wife, whom he carried with him in all his hazards and aduentures. But she that could not well indure flying, nor to chaunge places like an outlawe, became so wearie of trauaile, that by flattery and faire meanes she entiled her husband to leaue his flying, and go about (seeing he saw no wayes to escape) to procure Alexanders fauour: of whose clemencie (she sayde) he had scene so great experience. And to moue him the more in the matter, shee brought before him the children begotten betwixt them, making request, that at the least wayes he would take pittie vpon them, wherein she thought her prayer would the more effectuell, because Alexander was so near at hand. But Spitamenes iudging hit not to do this by way of counsaile, but of purpose to betray him, and that shee desired to submit her selfe to Alexander in confidence of her beauty, drew out his sword to haue stricken her, if he had not beene letted by his brethren. When they would not suffer him otherwise to hurt her, he commaunded her to auoid his sight, threatening to kill her if shee profered to come againe into his presence: And to mitigate his loue towards her, he spent 8 night amongst his concubines. But his loue that was so deeply grounded, thereby ceased not, but rather kindled the more toward his wife.

Wher:

Wherefore he reconciled himselfe againe vnto her, making his continuall request, that she would not counsaile nor moue him anye more in the matter, but be content with such chaunces as Fortune would sende him: for he esteemed death lyghter than to yeelde himselfe. She purged her selfe of her former perswasion, which appeared to her (she sayde) to haue ben good, & though it were after a womans manner, yet it proceeded of a faythfull meaning. Yet from thencefoorth shee was contented to do as it should please him. Spitamenes ouercome with her counsaile a little affection, made a great feast, and after much eating and drinke, became drowtie, and was caried into his chamber. When his wife perceiued him to bee in a deepe sleepe, she pulled out a sword, which she had kepte secretly for that purpose, and cut off his head, deliuering the same being sprinkled with blood vnto her seruant that was priuie to the fact, and with him only, as she was embued with blood, came vnto the Macedons camp, willing it to be signified to Alexander that there was one come, that had to speake with him. He by and by gaue commaundement she should enter: but when he perceiued hir defiled with blood) thinking that shee had come to lament some iniurye doone vnto her) willed

willed her to declare what shee would haue. She desired that her seruant might come in, from vnderneath whose garment she tooke Spitamenes head, and presented it vnto Alexander. The palenesse of the face wanting blood, had taken away the knowledge whose it was. But when the king perceiued it to be a mans heade, he departed forth of the tent, and by enquirie vnderstood the matter. The case brought him in great perplexitie, and was diuened by diuers imaginations into sundry opinions. He iudged the killing of such one (being a fugitiue & a rebell) to be a great benefit vnto him: which liuing might haue bin a great let and impediment to his proceedings. But on the other side, considering the horribleness of the dedde, that shee should kill him by treason, which loued her so entirely, and by whom shee had had children: the violence of the act ouercame the thankes of her benefit, and she was commaunded to depart the campe, least the ensample of such lycenciousnes, might corrupt the manners and ciuill disposition of the Greekes. When the Dahans vnderstood of Spitamenes death, they brought Dataphernes bound, that was partner with him in his conspiracy, & yelued themselves vnto Alexander. He being deliuered from the greatest part of his present care D D      deter-

ned to reuenge the iniuries of them which had beene misused by the pride and couetousnesse of his deputies and officers. Therefore he committed Hircania with the Cardons & Capirions to Prataphernes, to whome hee gaue in commission to sende Phradates his predecessor to him as a prisoner. Tamsor was substituted ruler of Caria in the place of Arlamus. Arfaces was sent into Media, to thintent that Oxidates should remove from thence. Babylon by the death of Mazeus was committed to Deditamenes. When he had ordeined these things, the third moneth he drew his armie out of the winter lodgings, to go to a country that was called Gabaza. The first daies iourney was quiet, & the next not very tempestuous: yet darker then had bin accustomed, but not without some signification of their calamities that were coming. The third day the element was full of lightning: and when the lightning ceased, it was very darke. The beholding thereof amazed the souldiours, and put them in great feare. It thundred in maner continually, & the lightning fell in strange similitudes, so that the armie stood astonished, and durst neither go forwards, nor remaine still in a place. Then there came sodainly a shower of haile driving like a streame: which at the first

first they defended by couerture of their harness: But shortly after their hands were so colde and wet, that they could not hold theyr weapons, nor yet deuise which way to turne themselves, finding alwaies where they turned their faces, more violence of the tempest then before. Every man therefore brake his aray, wandring about the woods: and many that were werped by feare rather then by trauaile, lay downe vpon the ground, notwithstanding that the force of the colde had converted the shower into a frost. The trees, against which they leaned, were a great refuge and helpe to many. And yet they were not ignorant when they rested, that they chose themselves a place of death: for when they left to moue their bodies, the naturall heate left them: But ease was so pleasaunt to such as were wearied, that they refused not to dye in resting of themselves. Their affliction was not only vehement for the time, but also continued very long: to the encrease wherof, the light, which is a naturall delectation vnto men, though the darkenes of the shower, and the shadow of the wood, was so taken away, that it appeared as it had beene nyght. The king onely was able to eschew this mischete, which ceased not to goe about the army, drawing the souldiours together when

The eight booke

they were disperked, lifting them vp that lay on the ground: and to encourage them, he shewed them the smoke that rose a far off frō the cotages, whether hee exhorted them to drake for succour. There was not any thing more effectuaill to their safeguard, then that whiles they were ashamed to leaue theyr Prince, whom they saw endure this mischief, they chafed themselves with their labour and trauaile. But necessitie (which in aduerse fortune is of more force thē any reason) found out a remedy for this cold. They fell to cutting downe the wood, making euery where heapes & stacks therof, and set them on fire. Then a man would haue iudged ꝑ the whole wood had bin on a flame, for there was scarcely space left betwixt the fiers for men to stande. Then their nummed members began to bee mooued with the heat, & their spirits which were oppressed by force of the cold, began to haue their free recourse: Some recovered ꝑ cotages, which necessitie caused them to seek out in the furthest part of the wood, & the rest recovered ꝑ camp, which was planted in a moist ground. But by that time the shower was ceased, the tempest had consumed a thousand souldiours, herlets, & slaues. It is sayd that diuers were found frosen to death, leaning against trees, and yet seemed as though

though they had bin liuing and speaking together. It chanced that a common souldiour of the Macedons, which had much paine to go and carry his armour, came at the last into the campe where the king was: who notwithstanding that he was chafing of his owne body against the fire, yet he did rise out of his chaire, and pulling of the nummed souldiours armour, that was almost past his remembrance, set him down therein. He a great while knew not where he sat, or who had receiued him, But at length when his naturall heate came to him, and perceiued it to be his kings seate, & the king to bee there present, was afraid, and starte vp againe. But Alexander beheld him in the face, and said.

Perceiuest thou not now my souldior, with how much better condition thou liuest, then the Persians do vnder their king? For it is death for them to sit in the kings seate, and the same hath bene the sauegard of thy life.

The next day he called his friends, and the capitaines of the army together, promising to restore to them whatsoeuer they had lost: wherein he perfozmed his promise: For Sismithres bringing vnto him many beasts of burden with ii. M. Camels, & great number of sheepe and oxen, he distributed all amongst the souldiours: wherein he both restored to the

theyr losse, & also deliuered them from theyr  
hunger. The king gaue great thankes vnto  
Sisimithres, and commanding his souldiours  
to carrie fye dayes victuals ready dressed,  
went to the Sacans, where hee destroyed all  
their Countrey, & of the bootie there taken,  
gaue xxx. thousand sheepe in gift to Sisimi-  
thres. From thence he came vnto a countrey  
belonging to a noble prince called Cohorta-  
nus, which submitted himselfe vnto the king.  
And he againe restored his countrey to him,  
exacting nothing of his, but that of his three  
sonnes he should send two with him to serue  
his wars. But Cohortanus offred to him al  
three, & made a feast vnto Alexander, with  
all such sumptuousnes as belonged to y<sup>e</sup> ma-  
ner of the countrey. Therin all the pleasures  
being shewed that could be deuised, thyrtye  
Virgins of the noble mens children were  
brought in before Alexander, amongs wh<sup>o</sup>  
there was Cohortanus daughter, called  
Roxane, which in beauty and excellencie of  
personage, and in comelinesse of apparell (rare  
amongst those nations) excelled all the rest.  
And notwithstanding that they were alle-  
lect, with whome she was accompanied: yet  
she drew all mens eyes towards her, and spe-  
cially the kings, that could not well now go-  
uerne his affections in such prosperitie of  
fortune,

fortune, being the thing that the frailnes of  
man sildome can auoide. Thus he which be-  
held the wife of Darius and her two daugh-  
ters (to whom Roxan was nothing compa-  
rable) with no other intent then hee might  
haue done his mother, was then so farre o-  
uercome with the loue of a young virgin, be-  
ing but of a base stock, if she should be com-  
pared to kings bloud, that hee affirmed it to  
be a thing necessarie for the establishment of  
the empire, for the Persians and Macedons  
to marry together: by which onely meanes  
shame might be taken from the vanquished, &  
pride from the victorours. Hee also for his  
purpose aleged a president how Achilles (of  
wh<sup>o</sup> he was descended) ioyned himselfe with  
a captiue. And least his dooings should bee  
thought iniurie, he would couple himselfe by  
the way of mariage. The father ioyfull of  
these news that he looked not for, gladly co-  
nfirmed the kings words: who in the heate of  
his desire, caused bread to be brought forth  
according to the custome of his countrey, the  
same being the most religious ceremony of  
mariage among the Macedons: which bread  
was cut a sunder with a sword, & each of the  
made of it sacrifice. It is to be thought, that  
such as established the customes of that nati-  
on, coueted by a moderate & a scarce dyet, to

shew to them that wer the gatherers of great riches, with how small a thing they ought to content themselves. Thus he that was both king of Asia and Europe, ioined himselfe in marriage with a maid brought in at a maske, to beget vpon a captiue, that should raigne ouer the victorions Macedons. His friends were ashamed that he should chuse vpon him a father in law of them that he had lately subdued. But after the death of Clitus, all the liberty and franknes of speech being taken away, they seemed to agree with their countenances, as with the most apt instrument to declare the intent of the mind. After this was done, he prepared his iourney towards India purposing to visit the Ocean sea. And because he would leaue nothing behind his backe that might be impediment to his expedition: he tooke order for 30000 yong men to be leuyed out of all the prouinces, & to be brought to him armed, minding to vse them both as pledges and as souldiours. Hee sent Craterus to pursue Haustanes and Catenes: of whome the one was taken, and the other slayne. Polipercon also subdued the country that was called *Bubacen*. And so hauing set all things in order, he set his whole imagination vpon the warre of Inde, which was counted to be a verie rich countrey, and to abound both with

with gold, pearles and precious stones, things more appertaining to beluptionnes, than to magnificence: and it was said that the souldiours there had their targets made of Iuory, & of gold. And therfore least he which thought himselfe to excell the rest, should bee passed in any point, caused his souldiours to garnish their targets with plates of siluer: the horsemen to make their byrdes to be beautified with golde and siluer. There were a hundred and twentie thousand armed men that followed Alexander in the war. When all thinges were in readines, for the purpose he long before conceived in his euill disposed minde, thought it time to compass; howe hee might vsurpe the name and honour of a God, and so willed himselfe not onely to be called, but also beleueed to be the sonne of *Iupiter*, as though his power had beene as well to restraime mennes thoughts as their tongues. His intent was that the Macedons should fall groueling vpon the ground, and worshippe him after the like maner the Persians did their kings. And to such his desire, there wanted not of pernicious flattery, the perpetuall popson of princes, whose estate hath had more often overthrowes by flattery, than by any force of enemies. The Macedons were not in blame of this: for none of them suffered gladly theyr country

thy wordes, it should not be mindfull now to answer thee: for hee himselfe would make request that he might not thus swerue out of this kind into the custome of straungers, nor hee would not suffer that thou shouldest deface and bring in the obloquie and enuie of men, with such thy pernicious flattery, his noble acts broght to passe with such felicitie and good fortune. But because he is away, I for him will thus aunswere thee. There is no fruit soone ripe that will continue long. Thus I meane by the diuine honors, which, whiles thou goest about to giue vnto the King, thou takest his honour from him. There is a time required that men should belcue him to be a God: for that gift hath alwayes bene giuen to great men, when they are once deade, by such as came after them: I wish vnto the king immortalitie after his death, and that his life may be long, and his estate continuall. But sanctifying is a thing that sometime doth followe a man, but it neuer doth accompany him. Thou didst rehearse examples of the deifying of Hercules and Bacchus. Thinkest thou that they were made Gods vpon drink, and by the decree of one dinner? The nature of Alexanders manhood must be remoued from our mortal eies, before the same can bring him into heauen. Are not they goodly Gods (Cleo) that thou and I can make? Would the King (trowest thou) be content to receiue of vs the authoritie of his Godhead? I haue great desire to proue thy power if thou can make a God, first make a king. It is much more easie to giue a worldly kingdome, than the possession of heauen. Thinkest thou (Cleo) that the immortal Gods will heare thee without disdain, or suffer these thy wicked deuises to take effect? they would we should holde vs content with the customes

customes of our forefathers: and for my parte I am not ashamed of my country: nor I require not to learne after what manner I should honour my prince. For in my opinion, wee acknowledge him sufficiently to be King and victorour, of whom we receiue lawes to liue vnder.

Calistenes was fauourably heard of all men, as the person whom they accounted the recouerer of their vniuersall libertie. Hee did not only in this tale paint out such flatterers but also liuely expressed the opinion of the Macedons, specially of such as were auncient men, to whom the exchange of their olde vsages were grieuous. The king was nothing ignoraunt of the words that had passed betwixt them: for he stood behind a partition of the hall, and heard all the matter. He sent word therfore to Hages and Cleo, that at his comming in, they should moue the strangers onely to fall downe and worshippe him after their country custome. And after a while the king, as though he had bene about some matters of importance, returned againe into the feast: and then the Persians fell downe and worshipped him after such sort as was deuised, but Polipercon that sat about the King at the boord, asked one in scoyne that touched the ground with his chinne, wherefore hee kissed no harder: with which words he moued Alexander to ire, whereof hee was euer vn-

The eight booke.

Impatient: so that he said vnto Polipercon:

Is it thou that disdainest to honour mee? Shall I be mocked of thee alone?

He answered that it was not seemely a King should be scorned, nor yet a subiect bee despised: With which words the king plucked him from the table, and threw him down: to whom he said, falling groueling vppon the earth.

Loe hast thou not doone thy selfe, that before thou didst scorne in another man?

And therevppon he commaunded him to ward, and so brake vp the feast. Polipercon being thus punished; was afterwarde pardoned, but Calistenes whose contempte and stubbornes the King had long grudged at, grounded his displeasure then more deeply: vpon whome there chaunced shortly after an apt occasion to be reuenged. It was a custom (as it hath beene said before) amongst the noble men of Macedon to put their sons, when they were past their childhoode in seruice to the King, as pages to doe necessarie busines about his person. Their vsage was to watch nightly by course at the chamber doore where the King lay. The concubines were brought in by them, by an other way then where the guard watched. They likewise receyued the boyes of the grooms of the stable, & brought them

of Quintus Curtius.

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them to the King, when he leaped on. They alwaies were about the King both in hunting and in battaile, and were brought vp in the studie of liberall sciences. The chiefest honoz was giuen vnto them, because they might sit and eate with the King: none had power to correct them with stripes, but onely the King himselfe. This company was like a masse of stone, from whence all the Captaines and gouernors of the Macedons did come. From thence came their latter Kinges, whose lynage the power of the Romanes long after did extinct. Hermolaus one of that number, because he had striken a boze (whom the King had thought to haue striken himselfe) was by his commaundement beaten, and scourged with rodde, which rebuke he tooke greuou-ly, and complayned to Sostratus his friende, that was one of the same company: Which seeing the body torne, wherunto hee had so great affection, and peraduenture offended also with the King before, for some other cause, stirred so Hermolaus (which was prouoked sufficiently already) that ech gaue faith to other to finde a way to destroy the King: Which they executed, not with any childish proceeding, but wisely agreed to bring Nicostratus, Antipater, Asclepiodorus, & Philotas into the fellowship of their conspiracie.

And

And afterwards they ioyned vnto them more, Anticles, Elaptnius, and Phimanes. But the meane how to performe this purpose seemed very difficult, because it behoued al them to watch together. And it was the vsage that according to their courses, some watched one night, and some another: For if any shoulde happen amongst them, that were not priuy to the matter, the same night to bee a let to the whole enterprise. Theretore about changing the course of their watch, & in other preparation for the execution of their purpose, there passed two and thirtie daies. At length the night came when the whole number of the conspirators shoulde watch together, who reioiced greatly amongst themselves, that each had kept faith to other: whereof so many dayes silence had giuen good prooue: during which time neither feare, nor hope had altered any of their mindes, so great was the displeasure they had conceived against the King, or els the fidelitie they bare each to other. They were standing at the doore, where the King did eate, to the intent that at his rising from the banquet, they might bring hym to his chamber. But Alexanders fortune, & the pleasauntnes of such as were in his company, mooued him to drinke largely, whereby and by reason of other pastimes and deuises,

the

the time was so prolonged, that the conspirators stood in a maruellous perplexitie. For one while they were glad, because they trusted to find him drunke, when they shoulde goe about their enterprise, and an other while they were in great agony, least he shoulde sit til day light, for then the custome was to releue the watch, and other to succede in their places, & since their course shoulde not bee come agayne till the seuenth night after, they could not bee assured that euerie one of them would keepe the thing secret all that time. But when the day began to appeare, and Alexander was risen from the banquet: they were so glad to execute their malice, that they became ioyfull to receiue the king. There was a woman accustomed to haunt the court, which being extraught of her mind, and seeming by some inspiration to shew things to come, met Alexander, and would in no wise suffer him passe, but perswaded him by all meanes shee could deuise, to return and sit down againe. He said to her in sport that the Gods gaue him good aduise: and therupon called backe againe his familiars, and late drinking till it was two houres after light: By which time an other company had releued the watch, & wer standing before the kings chamber doore: yet for all that the conspirators remained still after

Ce

time

time of their watch expired: So vehement is the hope which mens mindes conceiue, when they be drowned in the desire of great things. The king spake more gently to them than he was accustomed, and willed them to go to their rest, for so much as they had watched all the night before: and gaue vnto euery one of them in reward fiftie sesterces with commendation of their diligence, that they continued their watch longer then their time. Being thus deceiued of the great hope they were in, they departed to their lodgings, in expectation of the night when their course shoulde come againe. But Ephimanes, which euer by the gentlenesse the king shewed him amongst the rest, or els that hee thought the prouidence of God had withstood their purpose, sodainly changed his mind, and opened the matter they had gon about to his brother Eurilochus, that was not priuy to the matter before. The punishment of Philotas was so fresh in euery mans memozy, that Eurilochus laid straight waies hands vpon his brother, & brought him into the court. He called to the watch, and shewed them that he brought news pertaining to the kinges safeguard, whych thing wel appeared, as well by their coming at such a time, as also by their sadnes which was a testimonie of theyr troubled mindes.

The

The watchmen called vpon Ptholomeus and Leonatus, that lay within the kinges chamber, which straight way brought them in to the king, and wakened him, that by reason of his much drinking lay in a deade sleepe. It was long or he awoke, but by little and little hee came to himselfe, and asked what the matter was. Then said Eurilochus, thanked hee the Gods, that haue not vterly determined the ruine of our family. For though my brother purposed an heynous acte, yet is he come to repentance, by him the matter is brought to light. This same very night treason was conspired against you, the authoys therof be such as you would scarcely thinke. And thereupon Ephimanes declared all things in order, with the names of the conspiratoys. It is certaine that Calistenes was not named as one priuy to that treason: but it was confessed that hee gladly gaue eare to others talke, when they blamed and spake euill of the kinges proceedings. Some doe adde therewnto, that when Hermolaus did complain to Calistenes how the king had beaten him, hee bad him remember how he was a man. But whether he spake it to take the thing in patience, or els to sturre him to further malice, it remaineth in doubt. When the king was fully awaked, and called to his memozy the perill he was in, gaue

Ce 2

Euri-

The eight booke  
with great labour they helpe their peace, and  
then Hermolaus began againe:

Howe liberall is hee to suffer rude children to  
speake? when the voice of Calistenes is shut vp in  
prison, because he alone is able to tell his tale? &  
why? because hee feareth the free speach of an  
innocent, and because hee cannot endure to be-  
hold his face: & yet I will iustifie he is not priuy to  
this matter. But o. her there be here that purpo-  
sed with mee a noble enterprise, of whom there is  
not any that can accuse Calistenes of consent, &  
yet our so pacient & righteous a king hath deter-  
mined here his death. These be the rewardes of  
the Macedons, whose bloud is misused as vile, &  
of no valour. He hath 30000. mules carying spoile  
and treasure: and yet the poore souldiors carrie  
nothing with them but vnrewarded wounds and  
skars: All which things we did easily suffer before  
he did betray vs to the barbarous, & after a newe  
trade of victourers made vs slaues. Hee alloweth  
the apparell and discipline of the Persians, and  
despiseth the manners of his owne country: And  
therefore we determined to kill him, not King of  
Macedon, but King of Persie: and as a fugitiue,  
persecuted him by the lawe of armes. Hee would  
haue the Macedons kneele to him and worshippe  
him as a God. Hee refused Philip for his father,  
& if any God had bene before Iupiter, he would  
haue refused him likewise. Doe you marueyle if  
free men cannot beare this his pride? What can  
wee hope for at his hands, seeing we must either  
die as innocents, or els (that is worse than death)  
liue and remaine in bondage as slaues. Hee is  
greatly in my debt, if by this he could amend: for  
hee may learne of me the thing that free hearts  
can

of Quintus Curtius. 129

cannot endure. Spare them whose age shall bee  
sufficiently tormented with the losse of their chil-  
dren: but vpon vs cause execution to bee done,  
to the intent we may obtaine by our owne death,  
the libertie we sought for by his.

When Hermolaus had spoken these words,  
the king then answered after this maner:

How false these things be which hee hath lear-  
ned of his instructour, my patience doth declare.  
For notwithstanding he before confessed this tre-  
son, yet my minde was yee should heare what hee  
could say: knowing very well that when I gaue li-  
bertie to this theefe to speake, that he would vse  
the same rage and fury in his talke, which before  
moued him to haue killed me, whom he ought to  
haue loued as his father. Of late when that in  
hunting he used a great presumption, I comman-  
ded him to be chastised after the custome of our  
country used by the kinges of Macedon: Which  
chastisement we must grant needfull to be done,  
like as the pupils be accustomed of their tutors,  
the wiues of their husbandes, & seruants of their  
masters. This was all the cruelty I used towardes  
him, which he would haue reuenged with murder  
& treason. But how gentle I am to al persons, that  
suffer me to vse mine owne disposition, since you  
your selfe do know, it were superfluous for me to  
rehearse. I cannot marueyle at al, though punish-  
ment of traytours be displeasing to Hermolaus,  
since he himselfe is in the same case: for when he  
commendeth Parmenio & Philotas, it maketh for  
his owne purpose. I pardoned Lyncestes Alexan-  
der, which was accused by two witnesses, that he  
twise conspired treason against me: and agayne  
conuicted, yet deferred I his punishment two  
yeares

yeres, til you your selues required he might haue  
 his deseruing. Touching Attalus, ye remember  
 very well how he wrought treason against me be-  
 fore I was king: and for Clitus, I would he had not  
 moued me to ire, whose rash tongue speaking the  
 rebuke and shame both of me and you, I suffered  
 longer than hee would haue done mee, speaking  
 the like. The clemencie of the kinges and princes  
 consisteth not only in their owne dispositions, but  
 in such as be vnder their subiection. For the ri-  
 gour of such as be rulers, is mitigated with humi-  
 litie. But when mens minds be void of reuerence,  
 and high and lowe be confounded all alike, then  
 force is necessary to repulse violence. But why do  
 I marueyle, that hee layde crueltie to my charge,  
 that durst object towards me couetousnes? I will  
 not call you to witnesse one by one, least I should  
 braid you with liberalitie, by making declaration  
 what I haue bestowed vpon you. Behold the whol  
 multitude, which a little while agoe had nothing  
 else but their bare armour: doe they not lye in sil-  
 uer beds? be not their tables charged with plate?  
 and possesse they not whole flocks of slaues. They  
 are not able to sustain the spoils of their enemies.  
 But it is faide, the Persians be honoured of mee,  
 whom we haue conquered. Truly they be so; and  
 yet what greater prooffe can there bee of my mo-  
 deration, then that I do not raigne proudly ouer  
 such as I haue subdued. I came into Asia, not vtter-  
 ly to subuert the nations, nor make the one halfe  
 of the worlde desert, but to giue the conquered  
 cause not to repine at our victory. This is the oc-  
 casion they gladly fight for you, & for your king-  
 dom spend their blood: which if they wer proudly  
 vsed, wold straight rebell against you. The posses-  
 sion is not durable which is kept by violence, but  
 thanks

thanks of gentlenes receiued, endureth euerla-  
 stingly. If we purpose to enioy Asia, & not to make  
 a progresse through it, wee must make them par-  
 takers of our clemencie: and then their fidelity  
 shall make our Empire stable and perpetual. And  
 truly we haue now more then we can well wish  
 or desire. Couetousnesse is an vnfaciable thing,  
 specially when men desire to fill the vessell that  
 runneth ouer. But ye will say that I mixe & bring  
 their customes amongst ours. It is so, and whye?  
 because I see in diuers nations right many things  
 which we need not be ashamed to follow. And so  
 great an Empire as wee haue gotten cannot o-  
 therwise be aptly gouerned, except wee deliuer  
 some things to them, and receiue likewise some  
 things againe. One thing is to be laught at, that  
 I should refuse Iupiter for my father, being so ac-  
 knowledged by his oracle: as who saith, the an-  
 swer of the gods were in my power. Hee profered  
 the name of his sonne vnto me, which was not a  
 thing vnmeet for the things wee purposed. I  
 would wish that the Indians beleued me to be a  
 God: for the successe in warre standeth much by  
 fame, and that which is falsly beleued sometime  
 worketh the effect of things true. Doe you note  
 me geuen to excesse and prodigalitie, because I  
 garnished your armour with gold and silver? My  
 purpose was to shewe to men accustomed with  
 such things, nothing to bee more vile then such  
 kinde of metall, & to declare that the Macedons  
 inuincible in other things, could not be ouercom  
 with gold it self. After this maner I shal blind the  
 eyes of the barbarous, which are wont at the first  
 sight to wonder at things, be they neuer so base  
 and vile. And in that we shew to make no estima-  
 tion of it, we shall declare to all men that we are  
 not

## The eight booke

not come for desire of gold nor siluer, but to subdue the whole world: from which glory thou traitour, thou wouldest haue bereaued me, & betrayed the Macedons (I being slain) to the barbarous nations. I am exhorted to spare your parents: Is it needfull I should make him priuie what I haue determined of them? noe I will not: and to that intent hee might dye with the greater dolour, if he hath any care or memory of them. It is long ago since I did fordoe the custome of putting the innocent parents & kinnsfolke of traitors to death with the offenders. And I now professe to pardon and haue them all in the same estimation I had before. I know why thou wouldest haue thy master Calistines brought forth, which onely esteemed thee being of his sort: because thou desirest to heare pronounced of his mouth, those rayling wordes, which euen now thou didst spit out against me. If he had been a Macedon borne, I had brought him into the place with thee: a worthie master for such a disciple, but being borne in another countrey, he is subiect to another lawe.

When he had spoken these wordes, he dimissed the councell, and commanded all such as were condemned, to be deliuered to the soldiours of their own hands: who because they would declare by some crueltie, the loue they bare towards their prince, slewe them all by torments. Calistenes also died vpon the rack, innocent of the conspiracie against the kings person: but a man not plyable to the custome of the court, & abhorring from the disposition of flat-

flatterers. There was neuer thing he brought the Greekes in greater indignation against Alexander, then that he not only killed, but caused to be tormented to death, & that without iudgement, a man endued with godly manners & good sciences, by whom hee was perswaded to liue, when hee purposed to haue died for sorrow he had slaine Clitus: which his cruelty, repentance followed that came to late. But least he might nourish idlenesse, apte for sowing of seditious rumours, hee marched toward India, alwayes more glorious in war then after his victory. The whole countrey of India, lyeeth chiefly towards the East, conteyning more in length, then it doth in breadth. The North parts be full of mountaines and hylles: but all the rest of the land is plapne, hauing many faire riuers, which running out of the mounte Caucasus, doe passe pleasantly through the countrey. Indus is more cold then any other riuers, whose water is not vnlike the colour of the Sea. But of all the riuers in the Orient, Ganges is most excellent: which running from the South, passeth directly through many great mountaines, vntill that by the encountering of Rockes, his course is turned toward the East, where it is receiued into the Red Sea: the violence of the streame breaketh downe his

his bankes, swallowing in trees, and much of the ground. In many places the streame is kept in with Rocks, whereupon it beatech: But where the ground is more soft, there the River becommeth more large, and maketh many Islands. The greatnes of Ganges is much encreased by Acesines, which meet before they enter into the sea: At their meeting the water is violently troubled, whyles the one resisteth the others entrey: neither of the seeme to giue place to other. Diardnes is a River of the lesse fame, because it runneth in the uttermost boundes of India: but yet it bringeth forth Crocodiles, as the Nile doth & also Delphines, with monsters unknowne to other uations. Crooked Erimanthus with his many turnings and reflexions is consumed by the inhabitours with watering theyr ground, which is the cause that when it draweth neare the Sea, it becommeth verie little, and beareth no name. There be manie other Rivers that doe deuide the countrey: but none of them be so famous as these, because they do not run so farre. The Northwinde doth blaste and harme most those parts that be next vnto the Sea: But those winds be so broken with the toppes of the mountaines, that they cannot endamage the inward parts of the countrey: wherefore fruits

be

be very plentifull there and perfit. But that region doth differ so much from the ordinary course of time in other parts of the worlde, that when other countreis bee burned most with the sunne, India is couered ouer with snowe. And when other places be frozen, the heat is there most intollerable: and yet there appeareth not anye naturall cause whye it should bee so. The colour of the Indian sea not differing much from the water of other seas, did take his name of king Erichrus, whereof the ignorant tooke opinion the water of those seas was red. The land is verie abundant of flaxe, whereof the more parte of their garments bee made. The twigs of the trees be so tender, that they receiue the print of letters like ware. The byrds by teaching, counterfait mens voyces. There bee many beasts which are not bred amongst other nations. *Rhinocerotes* be there brought forth, but not bred. The Elephants of that countrey be stronger then those that be made tame in Abyrike, & their highnes doe answer vnto their strength. The water of the rivers do carry downe golde, and run mildly without any great fall. The Sea doth cast vpon the shoare both pearles and precious stones: whereof proceeded the cause of their great riches, after their marchandise was once knowne

known to other nations. the purgings of the seas beeing then esteemed, as mans fantasie would make the price. The dispositions of the men (as in all other places) be according to the situation of the countreys they dwell in. They make their garments of linnen cloth, which couer their bodies downe to their feet. They binde soles vnder their feet, and wrap roules of linnen about theyr heads. Such as be in any degree either of nobilitie, or riches, haue precious stones hanging at their eares, and couer al their armes with bracelets and ornaments of gold. They vse great curiosity in kemming of their heads, which they round very sildom. They haue without any forme of grauitie, all partes of their face, sauing their chinne. But the excesse in voluptuousnes (which they call magnificence) vsed by them, dooth exceed the vices of all nations. When their will is to be seene abroad, their seruants carry about them perfuming pans of silver, and fill all the wayes where they go with sweet sauors: they themselves be borne in litters of gold hanging full of pearles, and the garments they weare be of gold and purple enpaied together. The armed men follow their litter, and such as be of their garde, among whome there bee birdes borne vppon boughes, which they had taught alwayes to sing,

sing, when they be occupied in earnest matters. In the kings palace there bee pillars of gold carued about with vines of gold, wherein the images of those Birdes they delighte most in, be artificially wrought. The court is open to all comers. When the kings do keepe and dresse their heads, then they vse to giue answer to the Embassadors, and to doe iustice vnto their people. When their soles be taken of, their feet be annoynted with sweete odours. The greatest trauaile they take, is when they hunt wild beasts enclosed in parks which they strike whiles theyr Concubines be singing and dallying with them. The arrows that they shoote be of two cubits long, which doe not the effect of the force they be shotte withall, by reason of their weight which is an impediment to their swiftnesse, wherein the propertie of the arrow chiefly consisteth. In small iourneys they vse to ride on horseback: but when they haue to trauaile farther, they be carried vpon Elephants, whose huge bodies be couered all ouer with gold. And because no vice should wante amongst their corrupt maners, great rowts of concubines doe followe them in golden Litters. The Queenes haue their bands seperate by themselves: which in all excesse of voluptuousnesse be nothing inferiour vnto the kings. It belong.

rivers, the boates were so deuised, that they  
 might be taken a sunder to be carped in carts  
 and afterwards ioyned againe together. He  
 appointed Craterus to folowe him with the  
 Phalanx: & he with such horsemen & footmen  
 as were light armed, went before, and being  
 encountered on his way, fought a final battel  
 and did driue his enemies into the next City.  
 When Craterus was come (to the intent he  
 might strike terrour amongst those people  
 that had not yet proued þe Macedons force)  
 he commaunded that when they wan the Ci-  
 tie, they should kill both man, woman, & child,  
 and burne the same to the hard ground: But  
 whiles he rid about the walles, hee was stri-  
 ken with an arrow. Notwithstanding the ci-  
 tie was won, & all put to the sword, the very  
 houses not escaping þe victors cruelty. Af-  
 ter this he subdued an obscure nation, & came  
 to a citie called Misa. It chanced that whiles  
 they encamped in a wood before þe city, there  
 fell a cold in the night, that more afflicted the  
 Macedons, then euer it had doone before in  
 any other place: against the which, they pre-  
 pared the remedy that was next at hand & cut  
 downe the wood to make them great fires:  
 the flame whereof caught the sepulchres be-  
 longing to the city, which by reason they were  
 made of Cedar, were soone set on fire, & ne-

uer

uer left burning till they were all consumed.  
 That fier made both alarme in the citie, & to  
 the camp: for therby the citizens iudged that  
 their enemies would make some attempt a-  
 gainst them, and the Macedons perceiued by  
 the barking of the dogs, & noise of men, that  
 the Indians would salp out vpon the. Where-  
 fore Alexander issuing out of his campe in  
 order of battaile slue such of them as tempted  
 the sight. Therevpon they within the city be-  
 came of diuers opinions, some were minded  
 to yeeld, & other thought good to aduenture  
 the extremitie. Whē Alexander vnderstood  
 of their diuision, he caused his men to abstain  
 from slaughter, and onely to maintaine the  
 siege. At length they were so wried with the  
 discommodities of the war, that they yeelded  
 themselves. They affirmed their originall co-  
 come of Bacchus, who in deed builded the ci-  
 tie at the foot of a mountain called Peror:  
 The qualitie of which mountaine being re-  
 ported to Alexander by the inhabitants, he sent  
 victuals before, and passed thither with his  
 whole army, encamping vpon the top therof.  
 The mountaine grew full of Vines & Iuy,  
 abounding with springs þe flowed out in euery  
 place. The same was also plentiful of many  
 kind of aples of most pleasant tast: the ground al-  
 so brought forth corn without any cultiuatio.

ff 2

There

There grewe also plentie of Lauuell trees, with many kindes of wilde fruite. I cannot impute it to any motion of religion, but rather to plentie and wantonnes, that caused them to repaire thither, where, of the Iuyce and the vine leaues they made themselves garlands, and ran vp & downe after a dissolute maner, all the hollowes and valleys thereabout rebounding with the voice of so manye thousands, crying vpon Bacchus, to whome that place was dedicate: Which licence & liberty begun of a few, was spred so suddenly through out the whole armie, that the souldiers scattered abroade without order, lay here & there reposing themselves vnder the grasse & leaues that they had gathered together, as it had bin in a time of quiet & most assured peace: which licentiousnes of the soldiers rising by chance, Alexander did not withstand, but ten daies together made feasts to Bacchus, during which time he plentifully banqueted his whole army. Who can therefore deny, but that greatness of fame & glozy, is oftentimes a benefite rather of fortune then of vertue: for their enemies had no hart to set vpon the, whiles they were drowned in this excesse of banqueting, drunkenship, & drowsines, but were as much afraide of their drunkennesse, as if they had heard they crye encountering with them in battaile:

battaile: which felicity preserving the heare, did afterwards defend them after the same manner in the midst of their enemies, returning as it were in triumphe from the Ocean Sea, when they were giuen al to feasting and to drunkennes. When Alexander descended from the mountaine, hee wente to a countrey called Depala, which the inhabitants forsooke and fled to the woods, and the wilde mountaines: & therefore he passed from thence into Acadera, which he found burnt & abandoned likewise of the inhabitants: whereby of necessitie hee was compelled to vse the war after another maner. For he diuided his armie into diuers parts, & shewed his powre in many places at once. By which meanes he oppressed them before they could requite, & subdued them to their vtter ruine. Ptholomeus took most cities: But Alexander won the greatest, and afterwards ioyned againe his army together, which hee had thus diuided. That done, he went forwards & passed a riuer called Choaspe, where hee left Ceno to besiege a rich city called Bezira: & he himselfe went to Bazage, where Antagrus being dead had left the dominion both of the Countrey and the citie, to his mother Cleophes. There were 30000 footmen to defend that citie, which both was well fortified

### The eight booke

and strong of situation, being enclosed upon the East with a swifte river, having steape banks defending the citie, that it could not be approached on that side. Upon the South and the west parts, nature (as it were for purpose) had planted high rocks lying betwixt them, & deep hollowes & pits made of old antiquitie: whereas the rocks ceased, there began a dike of wonderfull heape and widenes. The wall wherewith the City was enclosed, was xxv furlongs in compass, whereof the nether parts were builded of stone, & the upper parts of clay: Wet stones were mixed with the clay, to the intent that the fragile substance clinging to the harder, the one should binde the other: & least the earth washed upon with the raine might fall altogether, there were stanchings of timber pit betwixt to stave the whole worke: which couered ouer with boards was a way for men to go upon. Alexander beholding this kind of fortification, was uncertaine what to do. For he saw he could not approche to the walles, but by filling of those dikes, & hollow places: and that he could not otherwise fill them, then by making of a mount, which was the onely waye he had to bring his engins to the wals. But while he was viewing the towne after that manner, he was stricken from the wall with an arrow

in the thigh. Which he pulled out, and without wrapping of his wound, called for his horse, & letted not for his hurt to give order for such things as he thought expedient. But at length when by hanging of his leg, & bloud due from the wound and waxed cold, where-by his hurt began to paine him, he then sayd that he was called the sonne of Iupiter: but yet he felt in himselfe the passions of a diseased body. Notwithstanding hee would not returne into the campe, before he had viewed all things that were necessary, and appointed all things hee would haue doone. After that the souldiours had receiued their appointment, by plucking downe of houses without the towne, they got great plentie of stufte to make the mount withall. And by casting stocks of trees on heapes into the dikes and hollow places, the mount within nine dayes was raised vp to the toppe of the walles, and the towers were planted upon the same: such was the labour and diligence the Souldiours vsed in the matter. The king before his wound was closed vp, went to see howe the workes went forward: and when he perceiued them in such case, commended the Souldiours for theyr diligence, and caused things to be brought to the walles, out of the which they that defended the Walles were sore afflicted with

with shot. And by reason they had not seene any such kind of worke before, were wonderfully amazed: specially when they beheld the Towers of such bignes come forwards, and yet could not perceiue by what meanes they were mooued, iudged those things to be done by the power of the gods. And besides they could not thinke it a matter of mans inuention, that so great darts and spears, as came among them, should bee shot by engins: despairing therfore of the defence of their cittie, they retired into the castle. And because they could not be satisfied any maner of way till they had peelded themselves, they sent embassadours to the king to aske pardon: which thing obtained at his hand, the Queene with a great traine of noble women came forth, bearing in their handes cups of golde full of wine: who presenting her little sonne, before the kings feet, not onely obtained pardon, but also restozement of his former dignitie. Wherefore some thought that her betwtye procured her more fauour, then his mercede: But this is certayne that the childe, which afterwards she brought forth (whosoever did beget it) was called Alexander. From this place Polipercon was sent with a power to a cittie called Maza, where he ouerthrew in battaile the inhabitants that encountered with him.

him, wherby he got the cittie into his possession. There were many other Cities obscure of fame, that came into Alexanders hands, by the abandoning of the inhabitants, which assembled themselves together in a iour, and kept a rocke called *Dorinis*. The same was that Hercules had besieged the same before time in vaine, and by reason of an earthquake inforced to depart. When Alexander viewed this rocke, and saw how steepe it was and vnpassable, became vaild of counsaile, till such time as an old man that knew well the place, came to him with his two sonnes, offering for a reward to guide his men by a way up to the top. Alexander promised them foure score talents, & keeping one of his sons as a pledge, sent him to performe that hee had promised. Mullinus the kings secretary was appointed with certaine souldiours light armed, to follow the guide, whose purpose was to deceiue the Indians, by fetching a compass about the rocke. But the same rocke was not, as the more part be, which lying asloape, hath waies vp vnto the top by degrees. For it stood vpright after the fashion of a but, broade beneath, and euer as it grew upward, lesse and lesse, till it became sharpe in the topp: And it was inclosed on the one side with the riuer of Indus, hauing high and steepe banks, and vpon

pon the other side with deepe dikes and hol-  
lowe places, full of water and mud. Where-  
fore there could bee deuised no way to win it,  
except those dikes were first filled. Ther was  
a wood at hand, which the king commanded  
to be cut downe, and causing the bowes to be  
shred of for the carriage, filled the hollowes  
with the bare stocks. Alexander bare y<sup>e</sup> first  
tree, & all the soldiors followed after with a  
couragious shout: for there was no man that  
would refuse to do that they saw the king be-  
gin: so y<sup>e</sup> within seuen dayes the dikes & hol-  
low places were filled vp. Then the king ap-  
pointed the Agrians and the archers to go to  
the assault, & did chose 30. y<sup>e</sup>ong men of such  
as he iudged most apt for the purpose, out of  
his owne bande, appointing Charus, and one  
Alexander to bee they<sup>r</sup> conductors, and ex-  
horted Alexander that the remembrance of  
his name might make him hardy. At the first  
because the hazard was so manifest, the king  
was not determined to aduenture his owne  
person. But when the trumpet blew to the as-  
sault, hee was of such a readie courage, that  
hee could not abstaine, but making a signe to  
his garde that they should followe him, was  
the first that set foot vpon the rocke. Then  
there were fewe contented to tarry behinde,  
but many left their array whereas they stood

in

in order of battaile, and followed the king.  
The chaunce of many was miserable, whom  
the running riuer swallowed in, when they fel  
downe from the rocke: Which sight was a for-  
rowfull to such as were out of danger, bee-  
ing admonished by the perill of others, what  
they ought to feare themselves: here vpon  
their compassion being turned into feare, la-  
mented as well themselves, as those whom  
they saw die before their faces. At length they  
went so farre forth, that without getting of  
the rocke they could not retire backe agayne  
without their great destruction. For their e-  
nemies rowled downe great stones vpon them,  
wherewith they were easily beaten downe, by  
reason the rocke had so slippery and brittle  
standing. Yet for all that, Charus & Alex-  
ander, which were appointed to the leading  
of the thirtie chosen soldiors, had gotten to  
the top, and began to fight hand to hand. But  
there was so many darts cast at them from a  
far, that they receiued mo woundes then they  
could giue: wherfore Alexander both mind-  
full of his name, and of his promise, whiles he  
fought more eagerly then warily, was inclo-  
sed about & slain. Whom when Charus sawe  
dead, he ran vpon his enemies, and vnmindful  
of all thinges, sauing of reuenge, he slewe ma-  
ny with his pike, and diuers with his sword.

But

But being laid at by so many at once, hee fell  
 downe dead vpon the body of his friend. The  
 death of these two so hardy yong men, and of  
 of the rest, moued Alexander greatly, yet  
 perceiuing no remedy in the matter, caused  
 the retreat to be sounded. It was greatly for  
 their safeguard, that they retired by little and  
 little without appearance of any fear. And the  
 Indians contented to haue repulled their e-  
 nemies, pursued not after them. Alexander  
 hereupon was determined to leaue of his pur-  
 pose, seeing he saw no hope how to winne the  
 rocke: yet hee made a countenance as though  
 he meant to continue the siege still. For both  
 he caused the waies to be closed vp, and made  
 an approach with towers of wood, alwayes  
 putting fresh men in place of them that were  
 wearied. When the Indians perceiued Alex-  
 anders obstinacie, two dayes and two nights  
 they banqueted continually, and played vpon  
 timbrels after their maner, to cause their ene-  
 mies thinke that they had no doubt in þe siege,  
 but trusted surly to preuaile. The third night  
 the noise of the timbrels ceased, and manie  
 torches were seen burning, þe Indians had  
 lighted to see which way they might escape  
 downe the rocke in the darkenight. Alexan-  
 der sent Balacrus to discouer the matter, who  
 found that the Indians were fled, & that the  
 rocke

rocke was abandoned. Then a signe was ge-  
 uen that the whole army should giue a shout  
 together, whereby they did strike such fear a-  
 mongst their enemies flying without order,  
 that many of them thinking their enemies at  
 their backs, leaped downe the rockes, & flew  
 themselues, whereof some maymed in theyr  
 falling were left behind their fellows that fled  
 away. Thus the king being victourer of the  
 place, rather than of the men, testified not with-  
 standing, with solempne sacrifice to the Gods,  
 a greatnes of victory, and set vp Altars on the  
 rocke to *Minerua* and *Victoria*. And though  
 the guides þe appointed to his light armed  
 men, performed not so much as they promy-  
 sed, yet their reward was truly giuen them.  
 And the rule of the rock with the cuntry ther-  
 about was committed to Sifocostus, he him-  
 self going forwards with his army fro thence  
 to *Echolima*. But vnderstanding that certaintie  
 straights through the which he should passe,  
 were kept by one Erix with twenty thousand  
 armed men: He committed that part of his  
 army that were heauy laden to Cenon, to be  
 brought on by soft iourneys, and going he was  
 in person with the slingers and archers, put  
 his enemies to flight, making the way cleare  
 for his army to passe that followed after. The  
 Indians, whether it were for the hatred they  
 bare

the eighth booke.  
bare vnto their capitaine, or els for to get the  
faueur of the victour, killed Erix as he fled  
away, and brought his head, and his armour  
vnto Alexander. He considering the foule-  
nes of the act, would not honor the doers for  
thesample sake, nor punish the because they  
serued his purpose. From thence by xvi. re-  
mouings, he came to that part of the riuer of  
Indus, where Ephestion had prepared all  
things in such sort as he had comission. One  
Omphias was king of that countrey, which  
before had perswaded his father to submit  
himselfe vnto Alexander. Who immediately  
vpon his fathers death, sent Embassadors  
vnto him to know his pleasure, whether hee  
should take vpon him as a king before his  
comming, or els liue priuately in the meane  
season: and although it was permitted him  
to gouern as a king, yet he would not vse the  
authority that was granted him. He had cau-  
sed Ephestion to be receiued in the best sorte  
he could deuise, but notwithstanding had not  
visited him, because hee would not commit  
his person to any mans fidelity but to his kings.  
When hee vnderstood of Alexanders com-  
ming, he went towarde him with his whole  
power: Whose Elephants by small distan-  
ces mixed in battaile amongst his footemen.  
shewed a farre of like Castles: At the first  
Alex.

the ninth booke.  
Alexander did not take him as a friend, but  
as an enemy, and therefore let his men in order  
of battaile, and his horsemen in wings in rea-  
dines for to fight. When Omphias vnder-  
stood the error of the Macedons, he coman-  
ded his men to stay, and putting his spurs to  
his horse, rode forwards alone. Alexander  
did the like, putting no doubt whether he were  
a friend or an enemy, but thought himselfe  
sure, either through his owne manhood, or  
the others fidelitie. Their meeting, as it ap-  
peared by their countenances, was very frend-  
ly: but for want of an interpreter, they could  
not speake together. Therefore after they  
had called one vnto them, the Indian king de-  
clared vnto Alexander, that the cause hee  
met him with an army, was to put immediat-  
ly his whole power into his handes, and had  
not (he saide) carried to intreat for any as-  
surance by messengers, but vpon trust only had  
committed both his person and his kingdome  
to him, whome hee knewe to make warre for  
the winning of glorie and fame, and therefore  
could not feare in him any perfidie. Alexan-  
der reioiced to see his simplicitie, and proffer-  
ed him his right hande as pledge of his pro-  
mise, and restored vnto him againe his king-  
dome. Hee presented vnto Alexander fiftie  
five Elephantes with manie other beastes  
of

of exceeding greatnes, and three thousande  
bulles, which is a tattle of great value in those  
cuntries, and much esteemed of kings. Alex-  
ander enquired of him whether he had vnder  
his dominion more souldiours, or tillers of the  
ground. He answered that he was driven of  
necessitie to haue more souldiours, because hee  
was at warre with two kinges, whose kyng-  
domes lay beyond the riuer of *Hidaspis*. Their  
names were Abisares and Porus: but the  
authoritie remained in Porus, and saide that  
he was prepared and resolved to aduenture  
the hazard of the battell with such of them, as  
should iudge him first. Whereupon Alexan-  
der granted vnto Omphis, both to take vpon  
him the tiademe, and the name of his fa-  
ther that was called Taxiles: the custome of  
the country being such, that the name euer fo-  
lowed the kingdome whosoever enioyed it.  
When hee had receiued Alexander honora-  
bly in hospitalitie three daies, the fourth day  
declaring how much corne he had deliuered to  
Ephestion and to his army, presented to the  
king and to all his friends crownes of gold, &  
besides of copied silver fourscore talents. A-  
lexander reioiced so much in his good will,  
that he both returned againe to him his gifts,  
and gaue him besides a thousand talents of  
the spoyle hee brought with him, with much  
plate

plate of gold and silver, many garments af-  
ter the Persian maner, and thirty of his owne  
horses, with the same furnimentes they ware  
when he did ride vpon them: Which liberalli-  
tie as it bound Omphis, so it greatly offen-  
ded the minds of the Macedons. For Mele-  
ager at supper, when he had well drunke, saide  
hee was very glad that Alexander had yet  
found one in India, whom he iudged worthe  
to receiue the gitt of a thousand talents. The  
king bearing in minde, how much hee had re-  
pentend the slaying of Clitus for the rashnesse  
of his toong, refrained his anger, but yet told  
him that enuicous men were euer tormentors  
to themselues. The next day the Embassa-  
dors of king Abisares came vnto Alexan-  
der, who according to their commission offe-  
red all things vnto his will: Whereupon  
promise and assurance being confirmed, they  
returned againe to their master. Alexander  
therefore thinking that through the greatnes  
of his name, Porus might be brought to doe  
the like, sent Cleochares to him to demaunde  
tribute, and to summon him to come & make  
his homage, when he should enter the bounds  
of his kingdome. Porus made answer that  
of those two requests he would performe one,  
which was to meete him at the entrie of his  
kingdome, but that should be in armes & with

a power. Alexander therfore being determined to passe the riuer of *Hidaspis*, Barzantes that had beene authoꝝ of the rebellion among the Arachosians, was taken & bzought to him bound with thirtie Elephants: an apt assistance against the Indians, that were woont to put moze trust in those beastes, than in the force of their owne nation. Gamaxus king of a smill pꝛtion of India, which had confederated with Barzantes, was bzought likewise bound to him. Wherefore committing them both to pꝛison, and the elephants to Omphis, came vnto the riuer of *Hidaspis*. But Porus lay in campe on the further side to let his passage, hauing fourscore and fve Elephants of huge strength of body, thzee hundred wagons of warre, and thirtie thousand footemen, amongst whome there were many archers, whose shafts (as hath beene said before) were moze heauy than they could welde. Porus himselfe did ride vppon an Elephant greater than all the rest, who also beeing of a bigge stature, appeared notable in his armour that was garnished with gold and silver, hauing also a courage equal to the strength of his bodie, and so great a wisdom as was possible to be found amongst such rude nations: The Macedons were not so much afraid with the sight of theyꝝ enemies, as they were with the great-

greatnes of the riuer that they had to passe, which being foure furlongs in bꝛeadth, and so deepe that no foode could be found, appeared to them like a great Sea. And yet the largenesse thereof mittigated nothing the violence of the streame, but ranne with no lesse furie, than if it had beene narrow, appearing by the repercussion of the water in manie places, to bee full of great stones in the bottome. This Riuer beeing sufficient to feare them of it selfe: the sight of the further banke full of horse and men, was an increase of their terror: Where the Elephants that had bodies of an vnreasonable greatnesse stood in theyꝝ sight, beeing pꝛouoked to bzay of purpose, to the intent that with their terrible noyse, they shoulde fill their enemies eares full of feare. Though the Macedons wer couragious and theyꝝ heartes full of good hope, as they which oftentymes had had experience of their owne acts: yet their enemies, & the riuer both together made them wonderfully amased: for they could not thinke how to keep a stedfast course to the further shoꝛe in so weake and tottering boats, noꝝ when they were ther, could see how to arriue with suretie. There were many Islands in the midst of the riuer, into the which both the Indians and the Macedons did thin holding theyꝝ weapons aboue their heades:

there they skirmished together in the sight of both kings, which by experiment of such small things, made triall of the successe of y<sup>e</sup> whole. But amongst all the Macedons, there were two noble yong men called Sifimachus and Nicanor excellling in boldnes and in desperat attempts, which thzogh their continual good fortune, had gotten a courage to despise all perill. Other yong men of the most hardiest, tooke them from their Captaines, & without any other armour (sauiug their pikes) swom ouer into an Island being full of their enemies, where through boldnesse enely they slew many of them, and so might haue returned with glozy, if rashnes (where it findeth prosperous successe) could euer be content with mesure. But whiles with skozne and pride they taried for their enemies, they were sodainly inclosed of such as swom ouer the riuer, and were killed with darts, which they cast at them from a farre. Such as in this case escaped their enemies, were either drowned with violence of the water, or the eddies of the streame. This sight put Porus in great courage, that sawe all their doings from the further shoare: And thogh Alexander was long vncertain what way to take, yet at length hee deceiued his enemy by this pollicie. There was an Island in the riuer greater than the rest, and apt to hide  
his

his deuise, by reason it was full of wood, and had a great rampire cast vpon that banke, was towards his enemies. There both his footmen and horsemen might stande couered from the sight of the Indians: and the rather to turne their eyes another way from the spying out of that oportunitie, he caused Ptholomeus with a great number of his horsemen to shew themselves against their enemies farre off from the Island, and to put the Indians in feare of their crye, making euer a shewe as though they would swimme ouer the riuer: Which thing Ptholomeus did many dayes continually together, to the intent that Porus should bee inforced to remoue his power to that part to withstande him, and thereby brought the out of the sight of the Island. Alexander also caused his owne paulion to bee set vpon the riuers side ouer against his enemies, and all the pompe that pertained to the state of a king to be set forth within their view, with the same band standing in sight, which was wont to remaine about his person. Furthermore Artalus, that was equal with Alexander in yeares, and like to him of face and personage, stood there openly apparelled like a king, that it might appeare to Porus, that Alexander was still remaining there, and went not about to passe the riuer. The execu-

The eight booke  
tion of this deuise was first letted by a Tem-  
pest, whereby afterwarde it was furthered,  
and brought to good effect: fortune euer vsing  
to turne her discommodities, into good suc-  
cesse towards him. For when the enemies  
were thus attent to obserue Ptholomeus &  
lay vpon the riuer against him: And Alexan-  
der with the rest of the army, busie about the  
passing of his men into the Island before men-  
tioned: there fel sodenly a great storm, scarce-  
ly tollerable to such as lay within their cab-  
baines, which so much afflicted the souldiours  
abroad, that they forsooke their boates, and  
fled agayne to lande. And yet for all this, their  
clamour and their noyse was not heard of  
theyr enemies through the vehemencie of the  
shower. As this tempest began sodainly, so it  
sodainly ceased: but the clowdes remained so  
darke, that there appeared not so much light  
as the souldiours might knowe one another by  
the face, when they spake together: which  
darknesse might haue feared some other man  
considering they had to rowe in a riuer & they  
knew not, their enemies (peraduenture) wat-  
ting for them at their landing, whither they  
went, as blinde men that for glory fought for  
perill. But Alexander vsed the thing that  
put other men in terrour, to serue for his pur-  
pose, and willed that every man (vpon a signe  
giuen)

of Quintus Curtius. 143  
giuen) should enter into their boates with si-  
lence: his boat was the first that launched frō  
the shoze, towards the further side that was  
void of his enemies, Porus onely keeping his  
watch against Ptholomeus. There was but  
one boate that sticke fast by the way vpon a  
rocke, and al the other recovered the land. A-  
lexander then commaunded the souldiours to  
prepare their armour, and sal into array: And  
whilst he was deuiding his men, to put them  
in order of battaile, marching towards his e-  
nemies: It was reported to Porus, that a  
great number of men of warre were come o-  
uer the riuer, & landed, which would straight  
wayes giue him the battaile. But he at the  
first (according to the fault that is mans na-  
ture, through the ouermuch confidence that  
he had in himselfe) beleueed not the matter,  
but thought that Abiasares which was con-  
federate with him, had come in his assistance.  
Yet when the day appeared, and the matter  
was manifest Porus then put forth a hundred  
armed wagons, & four thousand horsmen, vn-  
der the leading of Hagus his brother, to keepe  
Alexander doing. They counted those wa-  
gons their principall force: for every one of  
them carried six men, two Archers, two with  
targets, and two that ruled the horses, which  
were not vnarmed: but when it came to the  
fight,

fight, they let their reines loose, and bestowed their darts amongst their enemies. But þ use of those wagons serued that day to smal purpose: for the shower that had fallen more violently then was accustomed, had made the fields so wet & slabby, that the wagons could not stirre, but sticke in the mire, and became immouable: wheras Alexander being without baggage, or any thing that might be impediment vnto him, fiercely inuaded his enemies. The Scythians and the Dahans were the first that gaue the onset: and Perdicas was appointed with the horsemen to charge vpon the right hand battaile of the Indians. Then the battales beginning to ioyne on all parts, they that had the charge of the wagons counting them the last refuge, slackted they reines, and rushed forwarde into the midst of the fight. The comming of these wagons appeared to be a matter dangerous & doubtful to both parties. For at the first brunt both the Macedons were born ouer & ouerthrowen by them: and when the wagons came in anie rough or mirie places, the Indians were thrown out of them. For when the horses that drew them were once galled, & put in feare: they carried the wagons without gouernement, and tumbled part in the mire, and part in the riuer: A few trauesed the fieldes, and fled

fled for succour vnto Porus, who seeing his wagons scattered all ouer the fieldes, & wander about with their rulers, distributed the charge of his Elephants amongst his frends, and placed his footmen, and archers behinde them. He had many that sounded vpon Timbrels (beeing Instruments that the Indians vse in steade of Trumpets) wherewith they eares were so filled, that the noise of they enemies litle moued them. They bare also the Image of Hercules in the front of their foot battaile, which was done for an encouragement for them to fight well, & for a note of reproofe and offence to them that should flie from that their standard: for it was losse of life to them that left it in the field. So that the feare that they conceiued of Hercules that sometime had beene they enemy, was then turned into a veneration & a religion. The sight both of the Elephants, and Porus himself, astonished the Macedons, and caused the a while to stay. For the beastes being set in order amongst the armed men, shewed a far off lyke high towers, and Porus himself exceeding in manner the stature of many, the Elephant whereupon he did ride, was a setting foot vnto his highnes, which excelled so much all the other Elephants, as hee himselfe excelled the rest of men: So that Alexander beholding

ding both Porus and his power, saide, that at length hee had found a pearle equall vnto his heart. For we haue to doe (quod he) both with terrible beasts, and with notable men of war: And thereupon looked towards Cenon, and said vnto him: When I with Ptholomeus, Perdicas, and Ephestion, shall set vpon the left battaile of our enemies, and you shall see vs in the heate of the fight, do you then set forwards my right battaile: and freshly assaile them, when you see them begin to fall out of order. Antigonus, Leonatus, and Taaron, you bend against their maine battaile, and set vpon their front. Our pikes be long & strong, and cannot serue to any better vse, then against the Elephants, wherewith they may be thrust through, and such ouerthrowne as be carryed vpon their backs. The Elephants be but an vncertaine force, which vse to doe most harme vnto theyr owne part: for as they vse to goe against their enemies so long as they be at commaundement: So when they be once put in feare, they tourne against their owne side, and shew most rage towards them. Hee had not so soone spoken those wordes, but he put spurres to his horse, passing against his enemies: and when, according to his appointment he had giuen the charge, Cenon with a great force brake vpon the left battaile. And

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the Phalanx at the same instant brake in amongst the midst of their enemies. When Porus saw the horsemen gaue the charge, hee put forwardes his Elephantes to encounter them. But they being slow beasts, and not apt sedainly to moue, were preuented by the swiftnesse of the horses: and their bowes stode not them in any great steade: for by reason theyr arrows were so long & heauy, that they could not nocke them within their bowes, excepte they staid first their bowes vpon the ground, and the ground being so slippery that they could haue no perfect footing: whilst they were preparing themselves to shoot, their enemies were come amongst them. Then euery man fledde from the order that Porus had giuen, as it chaunceth oftentimes amongst troubled mindes, where feare beareth more rule, than the Capitaines appointment. For in so many parts as their army was diuided, so many generals became among them. Some would ioyne all their battailes in one: other would haue them diuided. Some willed to stay, and other to goe forwardes, and inclose their enemies about: There was no general consultation amongst them. Porus notwithstanding accompanied with a few, with whose shame preuailed more then feare, assembled such of his forces together, as were disperced abroad,

The eight booke

abroad, and went forwarde against his enemies, setting his Elephantes in the front of his battaile. They put the Macedons in feare, troubling with their vnwonted crie, not onely the horse that naturally do feare them, but also amazed the men, and disturbed their order. Insomuch that they which a little before thought themselves victours, looked about which way to flie and saue themselves: which thing when Alexander perceiued, he sent against the Elephants, the Agrians and Thracians, that were men light armed, and apter to skirmish a farre off, than to fight hand to hand. They gaue the elephants and their gouernors much a doe, and sore afflicted them with the multitude of their darts, & arrowes that they bestowed amongst them. And the phalanx came constantly forwarde against them that were in feare. But such as pressed ouer forward in fighting with the Elephants procured their manifest destruction: who being trampled to death with their feet, were an example to other, not to be ouer hasty in aduenturing themselves. The most terrible sight was, when the Elephantes with their long trunks called *Proboscides*, took men in their armour from the ground, and deliuered them vp to their gouernors. The battaile was prolonged doubtfully, till the day was far spent:  
the

the souldiours sometime flying from the Elephantes, and sometime pursuing after them, vntill that with a certaine kinde of crooked weapons called *Copidae*, (prepared for the purpose) they cut the Elephants vpon their legs. Those the Macedons had right aptly deuised for not onely the feare of death, but also the feare of a new kinde of torment in death, caused them to leaue nothing vnproued. Finally the Elephants wearied with wounds, with their violent struggling did cast their gouernors to the earth, and tare them in peeces: for they were put in such feare, that they were no more hurtfull to their enemies, but driuen out of the battaile like sheepe. Porus being forsaken of the more part of his men, ceased not to cast darts, wherof he had plentie prepared vpon his Elephant, amongst them that flock ed about him, wherby he wounding many by reason he lay open to euery mans blow, was laid at on all parts, till he had receiued nine wounds behind and before, through the which hee bled so much, that he had no power to cast any more, but for feeblenes they fell out of his handes. The Elephant also which he did ride vpon, picked forwarde with furie, made a great disturbance amongst the Macedons, vntill that his gouernour seeing the king so faint, that hee let fall his Darts, and to bee almost past  
his

## The eight booke.

I will answer as freely as I am spoken vnto. Knowing mine owne strength, and not hauing proued thyne. I thought no man of greater power then my self: but now the successe of this battaile hath declared thee to be mightier. And yet therein I doo impute to my selfe no little felicitie, that I haue wonne the second place, and am next vnto thee.

He was asked more ouer his opinion, after what maner he thought good the victory should be vsed.

Use it (quoth he) after such sort, as this dayes fortune shall put in thy minde, wherein there hath beene sufficient prooffe shewed, how transitorie the felicitie of man is.

This admonishment auailed him more, than if he had submittted himself, or made any sute. For when Alexander saw the greatnesse of his courage, and his heart so boide of feare, that it could not be broken with any aduersitie, was moued not onely to giue him his life, but also honorably to entertaine him. For so long as he lay diseased of his wounds, he took no lesse care of his curing, than if he had fought in his quarrell. And when he was once healed (contrary to that which all men looked for) he receiued him amongst the number of his friends, and enlarged his kingdome greater than before. There was nothing in Alexanders nature more perfect, or more constant, then that he would euer haue vertue in admiration,

## of Quintus Curtius.

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ration, when it was such, that it deserued true praise and glory: specially when hee sawe the same in his enemy. For when it chaunced in any of his owne men, it was somewhat terrible vnto him, thinking that their fame might be a destruction to his owne greatness, which he euer thought to grow greater, as they were of greatness that he subdued.



## The ninth Book of Quintus Curtius, of the actes of Alexander the great, King of Macedon.



Alexander reioicing in so notable a victorie, wherby he saw the confines of the Orient opened vnto him, offered by sacrifice to the Sun: and to cause his souldiers to bee more willing to go forwards in finishing the rest of his wars assembled them together, and (after hee had commended their dooings) declared howe in that latter battaile, they had defeated, & broken

The ninth booke.

ken the force of all the Indians power, and should finde from thenceforth nothing but a plentifull pray. For he said that in the cuntry wherunto he was going, the riches chiefly remained that was so much spoken of throughout the whole worlde, in respect whereof, the spoiles of the Persians were but vile & baggage: and that occasion was now giuen them not onely to fill their owne houses, but also all Macedonia & Greece with pearls, with precious stones, with gold, and with Iuory. The soldiors being desirous both of riches and of glory, because they had neuer found his words vaine, promised him to do whatsoeuer he would haue them: whereupon he dimitted them full of good hope, and set them about the making of ships, to the intent that hauing ouerrunne all Asia, he might visit the Ocean sea, that was in the end of all the worlde. The mountaines next at hand were plentiful of timber to make ships withall, in cutting downe whereof the Macedons found Serpents of such bignesse, as they had not seene before, and also *Rhinoceroses*, beastes that be seldome found in any other place, which name was giuen to them by the Greekes: For in the Indian language they are otherwise called. Alexander builded a Cittie vppon eyther side of the riuer of *Hidaspis*, which once performed, he gaue to

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of *Quitnus Curtius*.

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euery one of his Captains a crowne of golde, and a thousand peeces of gold besides: preferring & rewarding euery other, according to theyr qualitie, degree, & deseruing. *Abiasares* which had sent Embassadors vnto Alexander before the battaille fought with *Porus*, sent then Embassadors to him again, offering to do all thinges that he would appoint, so he might keepe his body at liberty: for he desired not to liue, except hee might remaine a king: & he thought himselfe vnmeet to raigne after he has beene once a captiue. He signified againe to *Abiasares*, that if his comming should be greuous, he would not stick to visit him in person. Hauing thus vanquished *Porus*, and passed the riuer of *Hidaspis*, he went forward into the inner parts of India, which was a country full of great woodes, and high trees, the aire very holosome & temperate, the shadow of the trees mitigating the heate of the sun, and the plenty of springs keeping the ground moist: there were also many serpents seene, whose scales glistered like gold. There was nothing more dangerous, than the poison proceeding from them: for immediately vppon the sting death followed, vntill such time as the inhabitours of the country bew-  
ed a remedie. From thence through deserts they came vnto the great Riuer of *Hiarotis*.

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The ninth booke.

whereunto there ioined a great wood, which hauing such trees as are not wont to be seen in other places, was also ful of wile peacocks. Alexander remouing his camp from thence wan a towne by assault, and taking pledges, appointed them to pay tribute. After that hee came to a great Citie (after the maner of that country) which was both well walled, and also enuironed about with a marish. The inhabitants came forth against Alexander, and ioyning their carts together in a front (wherein their custome was to fight) they proffered him the battaile. Some occupied darts, some speares, and other ayes, and with great agilitie leaped to and fro, to their carts, when eyther they would releue their fellows that wer weary of fighting, or els succor or rescue such as were in distresse. This buwoonted kind of fighting put the Macedons at the first in feare, specially being hurt a far off by theyr enemies, and not able to come to hand stripes with them. But after they had considered their disordred maner, they esteemed not their force, but inclosed their enemies about, and thrust them in with pikes: and the sooner to defeat them, they cut the bandes, wherewith the carts were tyed, to separate them alunder. When they had after that manner lost eight hundred of their men, they fled agayne  
into

into the cittie, which the next day the Macedons did win by assault. Certaine there were that saued themselves by flying, which seeing the Citie lost, swam ouer the water, and filled all the towns therabout with feare. They declared of what inuincible force their enemies were, iudging them in respect of their power rather to be Gods than mortal men. When Alexander had gotten that Cittie, hee sent Perdicas with a part of his army to destroy the country, and committing an other part to Eumenes for the subduing of such as would not become obedient, hee with the rest of his power, came vnto a strong citie, which was a refuge of all the country thereabout. Notwithstanding that the inhabitants sent to Alexander for peace, yet they prepared neuertheless for the warre, by reason of a sedition which rose amongst them, that made them to be of diuers opinions: Some would rather haue endured any extremitie than to yeeld, & other thought they were not able to make resistance, and whilest they differed so in opinions, and made no common consultation amongst themselves: Such as helde opinion to yeeld by the citie, opened the gates, and receiued in their enemies. And notwithstanding that Alexander had iust cause of displeasure against the contrary faction, yet hee pardoned  
them

them al, and receiuing their pledges remoued towards the next Citie. When the Indians that stood befoze the walles saw the pledges that were brought befoze the army, whome they perceiued to be of the same nation, desired communicatiō with them: who declaring both the kings clemency & his force, did moue them to render vpon their Citie, whose ensample the rest of the cities did folow. From thence he came into the Citie of *Sophites*, which is a nation (as the Indians thinke) most excellling in wisdom, best gouerned, and that haue the best customes amongst them. The children that bee there gotten, are not nourished and brought vp according to the will of their parentes, but by the order of such as haue the charge committed vnto them to view & state of the infants. If they perceiue any not apt to become actiue, or els wanting any of the limbs, they cause them straightwaies to be killed. They vse to mary without any respect of kinred they come of, or greatnes of parētage, making no choise, but in the shape of the body which is the thing onely esteemed amongst them. The king himself was within the chief citie of the country, against the which Alexander brought his power: The gates were shut, and no man appeared in armes vpon the wals to make any defence: wherfoze he stood

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in doubt a great while, whether the citie was abandoned, or els that the inhabitants had kepte themselues secret for some policy. Whiles he remained in that expectation, sodainly the gate was opened, & the king (which in goodlinesse of person excelled all the rest) came forth with his two sons. He ware a garment of golde, & purple empaled, that couered the calfe of his leg, and the soles he ware on his feet wer set with pretious stones. All his armes wer garnished with pearls, & had hanging at his ears two pretious stones which were excellent, both for bignes and brightness: and ther he had a scepter of gold set with pretious stones called *Berilli*, which he (after his salutatiō made) with humble submission deliuered vnto Alexander: peelding both himselfe, his children, and his kingdom into his hands. There were in that country verie notable dogges for the hunting of wilde beastes, which specially were giuen to be eager vpon the Lyon. The king therfore to shew their force and proper tie vnto Alexander, put foure of them vnto a great Lyon, which straight wayes caught him fast. Then one which was accustomed to that office, tooke one of those dogges by the legge to plucke him from the Lyon, and because hee would not loose his holde, cutte off his legge with a sword. But when the dogge

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stake

regarded the multitude of his enemies, nor the force of their Elephants: But hee feared the greatnes of the riuers, & the situation of the cuntry, so difficult to enter vpon. He thought it a hard enterprise to seeke out nations so far inhabiting in the uttermost boundes of the worlde. Yet on the other side the greedines of glozy, and the insatiable desire of fame, made no place to seeme too far, nor no aduenture to be ouer hard. He doubted also that the Nations which had passed so many countreyes, & were waxen aged with warres, would not be content to follow him ouer so many riuers, & against so many difficulties of nature lying in their way. For hee iudged that since they abounded and were so laden with spoile, they would rather seeke to enioy such thinges as they had gotten, than to trauaile any further in getting of more, he could not think the same appetite to be in his soldiers, that was in him selfe. For he compassed in his minde how to get the empire of the whole worlde, into which matter hee had but made his entry: whereas they wearied with trauaile, and thinking to haue past all perill, looked to enioy with speed the fruit of all their labour: yet for all that his affection ouercame reason. For he assembled his army together, and spake vnto them after this manner.

I am not ignorant (my souldiors) how that there be nowe many rumors sowed amongst you by the Indians, purposely to bring you in feare. But the vanity of their lying is not so new a thing, that it is able now to deceiue you. The Persians after that maner would haue made the straights of Silicia, and the plaines of Mesopotamia terrible to you: yea and put you in feare of the riuers of Tyger & Euphrates: and yet wee waded ouer one of them, and passed the other by a bridge. The same neuer reporteth things truly, but maketh al things greater than they be indeed. Euen our glorie though it be grown to a certain perfection, yet it is more in fame, than in effect. Which of you of late did think that you should haue beene able to endure the Elephants, shewing a far off like castles? who thought I could haue passed the riuier of Hidaspis when it was reported to be much greater than it was? Wee should long agoe (my souldiors) haue fled out of Asia, if tales could haue caused vs to turne our backes. Thinke you that the number of the Elephanes bee greater then you haue seene heards of beasts in other places? seing they be so rare in the world and so strange to be taken? ther must needs bee much more difficultie in the making of them tame. The same vanity that hath reported them to you to bee of such number, hath numbred also their horsemen and their footmen. Concerning the riuers, the more broad they bee, the more gently they must runne. For such as be narrow & of small breadth, run alwayes with the most vehement streame, whereas contrarywise, the broad riuers passe their courses more mildly. But you will peraduenture say that all the peril is at the shore, where your enemies shall waite for your arrival. Whatsoeuer the riuier be, the hasard

is all one at the landing. But imagine that al those things were true, whether is it the greatnesse of the beastes, or the multitude of the men that put you in feare? As concerning the Elephants, wee haue had experience of them of late, howe much more rigorously they rage against their own partie, than against vs, what should we esteem them, but only abate the greatnes of their bodies with such weapons as wee haue prepared for the purpose? What matter is it whether they bee of the like number that Porus had, or whether they bee three thousand, seing we perceiue that when two or three be once wounded, the rest bende themselves to flie away? And forasmuch as they cannot well be gouerned when they be but few, when there be so many thousandes together, they must needs be an impediment one to another, & breed a confusion amongst themselves: they bee so vniuely by reason of their huge bodies, that they be neither apt to passe forwards, nor yet to flye. I haue alwayes so little esteemed them, that when I haue had plentie of that kind I would neuer vse them: knowing very well that they be more dangerous to such as occupy them, than they bee to their enemies. But peraduenture it is the multitude of their horsemen and footmen that moue you: were you neuer woont to fight against suche numbers? or is it the first time that you haue incountred with disordred multitudes? The Riuer of Granike is a witnesse how inuincible the power of the Macedons is against any multitude. And so is Silicia that flowed with the Persians blood, and Arbella whose plaines be strewed with their bones. It is ouer late to count the number of your enemies, after that with your victory yee haue made Asia desert: when ye passed ouer Helespont

you

you should then haue considered your smal number. Now the Scythians do follow vs, we haue ayd at hande from the Bactrians, and wee supply our power with the Sogdians. Yet for all that, it is not in them, in whom I put my confidence. I haue a regard vnto your force: I reserue your manhoode about me, as a pledge and assurance of my actes & doings. So long as I may stand in the field among you, I will neither weigh my selfe, nor mine enemies. Do you but shew an appearance, that there is hope in you and chearefulness. We are not now newly entred into our trauailes, but haue passed all our labours, being come vnto the rising of the sun, and to the Ocean sea, except our owne sloth be our impediment. From thence hauing subdued the worlde, wee shall returne as victours into our country. Do not you as these negligent husbandmen, that lose their fruit after it is once ripe. The rewards of our iourney be greater than our peril. The cuntry that we go vnto is rich & of no force: thither I purpose to bring you, both to win glory, and to get you spoyle. For worthy are you to carrie such riches into your country: which bee so plentiful there, that the Sea doth cast them vp against the shore. You bee men of that vertue, that yee ought to leaue nothing unprouided, nor nothing vndone for feare: I desire and pray you by the glory ye haue gotten, in which ye exceed the state of men, and by all that I haue deserued of you, and you of me, wherewith ye remayne as inuincible, that ye will not forsake me, purposing to visit the end of the world, me I say that haue bene brought vp as a childe amongst you. I wil make no mention how I am your king: In the rest of things I haue commaunded you: let me now intreat you in this one point. It is I that make this request vnto

to

## The ninth booke

to you, which neuer commaunded you any thing, but I put my selfe formost in the aduenture and danger, and the which oftentimes in mine owne person haue beene the formost in defence of the battell: take not the victory out of my hands, with the which (if enuy be not the let) I shall become equal in glory both to Hercules & Bacchus. Giue your assent to mine intercession, and at length breake your obstinat silence. Wher is your showing become that was wont to be a declaration of your chearefulness? Where be the countenances of my country men? I know not my souldiors, and it seemeth that I am not known of you. Me thinks I crie to your deaf eares in vaine, and goe about in wast to sturre vp your vnwilling, and vnmoouable minds.

**Notwithstanding al these words, they hung down their heads towards the earth, & persevered stil in silence. Then he proceeded:**

I know not (quod he) wherein I haue vnwitting offended you, that you wil not once vouchsafe to looke me in the face. I seeme to be solitary, & in a desert. Is there none of you that I speake vnto wil answer me? Is there none at the least wayes will deny my request? What is the thing that I require euen your owne glory, and your owne increase. Where be they now that I saw not long ago contending who should first take vp their king, when he was wounded? And now ye leaue me alone: ye forsake me, ye betray me to mine enemies. But I will not leaue mine enterprise though I go alone. Put me forwards to those riuers, to those beastes and to those nations, the very names of whom ye fear so much. The Scythians & Bactrians shall go with me, which of late were mine enemies, & now be

be my souldiors. I had rather die, than bee a King to be ruled, and at others mens appointment. Depart you home, go I say, and triumph of the abandoning of your king. For I will rather obtain here the victory, wherof you haue dispaired, or els die a death that shall be honourable.

**Notwithstanding al that he had said, there was not one souldiour that would open his mouth to speake, but stood waiting that some of the princes and great Capitains shoulde declare vnto the king their states, & how that there remained not in them any obstinate refusal of the wars, but that they were exhausted with wounds, & wearied with continuall trauel, that they were not able to endure any longer. As they stood thus astonied and afraid in silence, and looking vpon the ground, there began first a whispering and a rumoz among them, and afterwards a lamentation: and by little and little they began moze manifestly to shewe theyr dolour, the teares falling from theyr eyes. The Kinges anger was then so turned into compassion, that he was not able neyther to keepe himselfe from teares, but the whole assemblie did burst out into an excessiue weeping. And when the rest were at a stay to speake, Cenus tooke vpon him to presse forwards towards the iudgement seat, where Alexander stood, signifyng that hee had somwhat to say. When the souldiors saw him**

him pull his helmet from his heade (for so it was the custome to speake vnto the king) they began to require him that he would vtter the cause of the whole army. Then Cenus began on this wise.

The Gods defende our mindes from all wicked thoughts, as I doubt not but they will: there are none of your souldiors, but of the same minde towards you, that they haue beene in times past, whether it be your pleasure to command them to goe forwards to fight, and to hasard themselves, or with their blood commend their name vnto the posteritie. And if you will needes perseuer in your opinion, though we be vnarmed, naked, and without blood, wee will cyther come after you, or go before, as you shall thinke expedient: But if you will be content to heare your souldiors griefs and complaints which be not fayned, but expressed by force of very necessitie, I humbly beseech you then, that ye would vouchsafe fauourably to heare them, that constantly haue followed your authoritie and fortune, and are yet ready to follow wheresoeuer you will appoint. O Alexander, with the greatnes of your actes, yee haue not overcome only your enemies, but also vs your own souldiors, whatsoeuer mans mortalitie is able to fulfill, that is performed by vs, hauing passed ouer so many Seas, and Countreys better known to vs than to the very inhabitours, nowe remaining in maner in the vttermoost end of the world. And yet for all this, your purpose is to passe into an other world, and seeke out an Inde vnkowne to the Indians. Ye couet to plucke out the wild beasts, and Serpents out of their dennes, and lurking places, minding to search further with your victory then the

the Sun hath visited with his beames, which truly is an imagination meet for your heart, but farre exceeding our capacitie and power. Your manhood and courage is alwayes in increase: but our force groweth in declination. Behold our bodies destitute of blood, pierced with so many wounds, and rotted with so many scars. Our weapons now be dulled, and our armour is wasted and consumed: wee weare our apparell after the Persians manner, because our country garments do fayle vs: we are degenerate out of our owne fashion, & grown into a strange habite, what is he that hath his corselet, or horse particular to himself? Cause it to be enquired how many remaine amongst vs, and what remaineth to euery man of the spoyle. Being the victours of all men, of all men wee are the poorest. It is not abundance or excesse that troubleth vs, but the very warre it selfe: Our munition is consumed, and yet ye mind to put forth this goodly army of yours naked to those beasts: The multitude of whom though the Indians purposely do increase, yet of their vaine report wee may perceiue the number to be great. But if yee bee vtterly determined to passe yet further into Inde, the country that lyeth Southward is not so desert as the other, which being subdued, ye may passe to that Sea, which nature hath appoynted to bound in the world. Why doe you seeke that glory a far off, which remaineth to you readie at your hand? Here the Ocean sea doth meet vs, & except your minde be to wander, we are come to the place predestinate to vs. I had rather speake these things before you, then behind your backe: for I seeke to win fauour amongst the men of war that stand heere about me, but desire you should rather heare their mindes expressed in playne

## The ninth booke.

words, then to heare their grieve & their grudge vttered in muttering, and in murimure.

When Cenus had made an end of his tale, there rose a crie and lamentation, which with confused voices euery where called Alexander their king, their father, and their Lord. Then the other Captaines (and specially the Elders, which by reason of their age had the more honest excuse, and greater authority) made the like request, so that the kings was not able to chastise them being in that obstinacy, nor mittigat them being so moued: therefore vncertaine what to do, he leapt from the iudgement place, & commanding his lodging to bee shut in, admitted no man but such as were accustomed about his pers<sup>n</sup>. Two daies he consumed in his anger, & the third he came forth amongst his men, causing xii. altars of square stone ther to be set vp as a monument of his iourney, and willed the trenches of his campe to be made wider, & the places where the souldiours lay to bee enlarged greater than seru'd for the bignesse of their bodics: thinking by the forme and shape of things thus increased, to leaue a deceitful wonder to his posteritie. From thence he returned againe by the way he had passed before, and incamped vpon the River of *Acesines*: Cenus chaunced there to die, whose death the King lamented: but

of Quintus Curtius.

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but yet he said y<sup>e</sup> for so few daies hee had made ouer long an oration: as though he alone shuld haue returned into Macedon. By that time the nauy of ships which hee had appointed to be made, stood in readines afloat: & Memnō in the meane season brought him out of *Thrace* a supply of six thousand horsemen, and besides from *Harpalus* 7000. footmen, with 25000 armours that were wrought with siluer and gold, which he distributed amongst his men, and commaunded the olde to be burned, purposing to passe vnto the Ocean sea with a g<sup>d</sup> ships. But before his departure, he reconciled together by affinitie Porus and Taxiles, betwixt whom there was a new discorde risen vpon their olde hatreds. He had obtained of them great ayde both in the making and furnishing of his nauy. During the time he was about that businesse, he builded there two cities: whereof he called the one *Nicea*, & the other *Bucephalon*, dedicating the latter by the name of his horse that was dead. He gaue order that his Elephants and carriage should passe by Lande, and he sapled downe the River, proceeding euery day about fortie furlonges, so that he might euer land his power in such places as he thought conuenient. At length hee came into a countrey whereas the River of *Hidasps* and *Acesines* do ioyne

The ninth booke.

together, and doe runne from thence into the boundes of a nation called *Sobions*. They declared that their predecessors came of Hercules army, which beeing left there sicke, did inhabit the country: They were cloathed in beasts skins, vsing clubs for their weapons: & though they had left the customs of the Greeks yet ther appeared many things among them, that declared from whence they were descended. Heere the king landed and marched two hundred and ten furlonges within the country, which hee wasted: and tooke the chiefeest Citie in the same. There were forty thousand men that stood in defence against him vpon a Riuer's side, but hee passed the water, putting them to flight, and after they fled into the Citie, hee wan it by force. The children wer slain, and the rest sold as slaues. He assaulted another Citie, where hee was repulled with the great force of the defendants, and lost many of his men. But when the inhabitants sawe that hee continued stil the siege, despairing of their safegard, they set fire on their houses, & burned themselves, their wiues, & their children. Which fire when the Macedons quenched, and they kindled the same againe, it seemed a strange contention, the cittizens to destroy their owne cittie, their enemies labouring to saue it: the warres so contrariouly

chaun-

changed the lawes wrought in man by nature: The castle was saued, wherein a garrison was left. Alexander went about this castle by water, which was enuironed with three of the greatest Riuer's in all Inde, *Ganges* except *Indus* passing on the North side, & *Acesines* running into *Hidaspis* vppon the South. Where these Riuer's met, the waues rose like forges of the sea, being full of mud, & ooze, which by the course of the water were driuen vnto the sides: for all that the Riuer's are broad, yet the channels are but narrowe, wherein the ships must passe. The waues did rise so high and thick, breaking sometime vpon the pups of the ships, and sometime vpon the side, that the shippemen began to baile theyr sailes. But they were so troubled through feare and the violent swiftness of the streame, that they could not order their tackling, so that two of their greatest ships were drowned in sight: and the smaller vessels which were as vnable to be gouerned, were driuen vpon the shore without any harme. The king chanced vpon the place whereas the waues went highest, wherewith his ship was so tossed & trauersed, that the helme could not direct his course. Wherefore the king doubting of drowning, pulled off his garment ready to cast himselfe into the water, and his friends did swim

¶ 3. neare

neare thereabout ready to receiue him: it appearing vnto him doubtful, which peril was greatest, either to swim or to continue still a-boord. But the mariners labored wonderfully with their oares, adding all the force that lay in mans power to cut through the waues by whose importunate trauaile the water seemed to diuide asunder, & to giue place, so that at length they baled out of the surges: & yet not able to bring the ship to the shoze, dashed vpon the next flat, it appearing that the ships and the streame had fought a battail together. Alexander hauing escaped this peril, set vp to euery riuer an altar, whereupon he offered due sacrifice, & that done, past forwards thirtie furlongs. From thence he came into the country of the Sudzicans & Mallians, which accustomed to be at war among themselves: then for their owne defence they ioyned in societie. They assembled in armes to the number of nine thousand footmen, tenne thousand horsemen, & ix. hundred armed wagons, whereof when the Macedons were aduertised, which beleued that they had passed all perils, seeing a fresh warre arise, with a new fierce nation, were amazed with a sodaine feare, and began againe with seditious words to reprooue their king. They alledged that hee would lately haue compelled them to passe the riuer of Gan-

ges,

ges, for to make war vpon those nations lying beyond the same: which enterprise though it were lesse, they had not for al that ended the war neuer the more, but rather made an exchange of a new labour, beeing put forth amongst this wild nation, to make the Ocean sea open to him with their blood, and to beeline beyond the sun and stars. They were compelled (they saide) to visite those places & nature conetted to remoue from mans knowledge. They grudged that to their new armes there were new enemies raised vp, whome if they should vanquish and put to flight, they could not see what benefit they could receiue thereby, but only darknes & obscuritie of the aire, which alwaies couered the deep sea, replenished with multitude of monsters, wallowing in those immouable waters, whereas nature decaying, she fayled of her force. The king little moued in his owne respect, was greatly troubled with those passions of his soldiers. Wherefore hee assembled them altogether, declaring of how feble a force those nations were, whome they feared so much, which only remained, and were impediment to them (hauing ouer passed so many countrys) to attaine both to the full of their trauaile, and to the end of the worlde. He shewed how that in respect of theyr former feare, hee had left his

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enterprife ouer *Ganges*, with the conquest of the nations inhabiting beyond the same, and had directed his iourney this way, whereas their glory shall be as great, and they perill much lesse and wherein they had not farre to trauaile seeing the Ocean was in maner with in sight: the aire whereof hee felt blowing in his face. He required them therfore that they would not enuy the glory that hee had sought by passing the boundes of Hercules and Bacchus, seing that with so litle paine they might giue vnto their king perpetual fame and immortallitie. In doing whereof they should depart out of India as victors, whereas otherwise they should seem to flie away frō thence. It is the property of euery multitude, and specially of men of war, to be drawne with euery little motion, amongst whom as sedition doth soon arise, so it is soon pacified. There was neuer a more chearefull cry made of any army before, than the souldiours then made to Alexander, which willed him to leade them whither soeuer hee would, and make himselfe equal in glory vnto them whose actes hee did counterfeit. Alexander reioicing in the willingness he appeared in them, remoued straight waies towardes his enemies that were the stoutest people of all the Indians. They prepared themselves stoutly for the warres, and chose

chose for their Capitaine one of the *Oridracans*, that was of an approued manhood: who encamping at the foote of a mountaine, made fires all abroad, to cause his number appeare the greater, and went about in vaine to feare the *Macedons* when they were in rest, by making of Alarmes, with their cries & manner of howling. When the day appeared, Alexander hauing an assured trust to win the victory, commaunded the souldiours to put on their armour, and chearefully to fall in order of battaile. But the Indians (whether it were for feare, or by reason of some sedition risen amongst them) sodainly fledde into the desert mountaines; whome Alexander followed in vaine, and not able to ouertake them, tooke their carriage. After this he came to a citie of the *Oridracans*, whereunto great numbers were fled, as wel in trust of the strength of the place, as of their own power. As Alexander was about to make he appproch, Demophon his diuiner admonished him that he should either deferre the matter, or els not medle with it at all: for that there appeared signs that his life should be in peril. When Alexander heard his words, he beheld him and said:

If any man should interrupt thee when thou art busie about thy science, or considering of the intraiels: should not he seeme vnto thee troublous, and

and his comming to be vngrateful?

Yes truly (quoth he.)

So art thou now vnto mee (quod Alexander.)  
For hauing so great matters in hand of more mo-  
ment than the intrailles of beastes: I find no grea-  
ter impediment than a superstitious diuiner.

And as soone as he had spoken the worde,  
he caused them to reare vp ladders, & whilst  
other men stiked and staid at the matter, he  
mounted vp the wal. The same was very na-  
row in the top, not diuided with lopes (as is  
commonly vled) but inclosed with one whole  
and continual battilment round about, which  
causes it to be the more hard to scale. Alex-  
ander therfore hauing no convenient roome  
to stand at his defence, staid vpon the wall;  
receiuing vpon his target the darts that were  
cast at him frō all parts. His souldiours could  
not get to him, they were so beaten frō the  
walls by the multitude of shot that came frō  
aboue. Yet at last when by their slaying they  
sawe their king giuen vp into theyr enemyes  
hands, shame ouercame their imminent dan-  
ger. But their ouer much hast was too great  
a let, and the cause why they could not come  
to the rescue of their king. For whilst euery  
man coneted by the ladders, they wer so sore  
laden, that they brake a sunder, and such as  
were mounted vpon them, fel downe againe,  
deceiuing Alexander of his onely hope: So  
th at

that in the sight of all the army he stood desti-  
tute as in a desert, without any aid or succor,  
and had wearied his left arme (with which he  
held his target in receiuing the blowes. His  
friendes cryed vnto him to leape downe vnto  
them, who stood in a readines to receiue him.  
But he giuing no eare vnto them, vndertook  
an incredible enterprise, and such one as hath  
not bin heard of before, deseruing rather fame  
of rashnes, than of any commendation that  
might sound to his glory. For with a ful leape  
he cast himselfe into the citie that was full of  
his enemies, wheras he could scarcely haue a-  
ny hope to fight for his life, or in dying to bee  
reuenged on his enemies. For before he could  
recouer his feet againe, it was likely either he  
should haue bene slain, or taken alive. But he  
by chance so conueyed his body, that he fel v-  
pon his feet, & standing, encountred with such  
as came against him: fortune so prouiding  
he could not bee inclosed about, by reason of  
an old tree, which (as it had bene of purpose)  
stood near vnto the wal: whose broad boughs  
ful of leaues couered him from aboue, and the  
greatnes of the stocke kept his enemies from  
comming on his back, and vpon the forefront  
he receiued the dartes that were cast against  
him with his target. For though there were  
neuer so many that contended w him a far of,

not

yet durst there no man come neare vnto him:  
 and the boughes kept off the arrowes and the  
 darts so well as his target did. In this extre-  
 mitie & greatnes of Alexanders fame chief-  
 ly fought for him, & next desperation: a great  
 encouragement for a man to die honestly. At  
 length through the multitude of his enemies  
 that continually flocked about him, both his  
 target was laden with shotte, his helmet was  
 broken with stones, and his legs fainted and  
 fayled vnder him, by reason of his continuall  
 trauaile: which thing when his enemies per-  
 ceined, they tooke lesse regard to themselves  
 and drew more neare him, of whom he recei-  
 ued two with his sword, in such sort, that they  
 fel down dead at his feet. And from that time  
 forwards none was so bold to approach again  
 so neare him, but threw dartes and shotte ar-  
 rowes at him a far off. He lay open to every  
 mans blow: & yet (though it were with great  
 paine) defended himselfe vpon his knees, un-  
 til such time as an Indian shotte an arrow at  
 him that was two cubits long, which a little  
 aboue his right thigh passed through his cor-  
 let: By reason of that wound he shed so much  
 bloud, that hee let his sword fall, as one at the  
 point of death. And therewith became so faint  
 that he had not strength to plucke out the ar-  
 row. Then the Indian which had hurt him,  
 came

came with great ioy to spoyle his body. But  
 when Alexander felt his enemies hand vpon  
 him: moued (as it is to be thought) with des-  
 pite, to receiue an injury to that extremity,  
 called againe his spirits that were passing a-  
 way, and with his sword thrust his enemy be-  
 ing vnarmed) through the body. When hee  
 had thus slaine two of his enemies which lay  
 dead before him, all the rest stood amazed a  
 far off. Then Alexander desiring before his  
 last breath should sayle to bee killed fighting,  
 began to raise vp his body vpon his target:  
 yet his strength would not serue him there-  
 vnto, and therefore reached at a bough that  
 hung ouer his head, coueting thereby to haue  
 rayled vp himselfe. But his power not suffi-  
 cing thereunto, he fel downe againe vpon his  
 knees, and by a sign made with his hand, cha-  
 lenged his enemies if any of them durst come  
 and match with him. At the last Penteates  
 repulsiug his enemies vpon another part of  
 the Citie, got into the towne, and coasting a-  
 long the wals, came vnto the place where the  
 king was. When Alexander espied him,  
 though he had no hope to liue, yet he tooke his  
 coming for a comfort to his death, and for al  
 his feeblenes began to reare vp himselfe: then  
 came Timeus, & within a while Leonatus,  
 and after them Aristonius. When it was

once published amongst the Indians, that Alexander was entred within the wals, they left their defence in other places, & came flocking thither, whereas they fiercely assailed such as stood at defence of the kings person. Timeus, after that he had fought notably, & receiued many wounds, was there slain. Peucestes also, notwithstanding that he was stricken and wounded with their darts, yet with his target he defended the kings person, without any regard of himselfe. And Leonatus, whilst he resisted the Indians that eagerly pressed vppon Alexander, receiued so sore a stripe on the neck, that he fel down in a sowne at the kings feet. By that time Peucestes became so feeble of his wounds, that he was not able to defend him any more. The last hope and refuge remained in Aristonius, who also was so greuously wounded, that that he could not indure any longer the force of the Indians. In the mean season the fame was spread amongst the Macedons that their king was slain: which being a matter that should haue put others in feare, stirred vp theyr barts, and made them the hardier. For from that time forwards, there was none that had respect of his owne perill, but aduentured vnto the wall, and breaking downe the same with pickaxes, entred at the breach, making slaughter

ter of theyr enemies, of whom few stood at defence, but fled away.

There was neuer man nor woman spared old nor yong. For they met none but they indged him to be the person that had hurt theyr king, and so at length with the murder of the multitude theyr iust ire was satisfied. Clitarchus and Timagenes do write, that Ptholomeus, which afterwards became King of Egypt was present in this encounter. But he himselfe, that vsed not to deny any thing that stood with his own glory, did put in memory how that he was then absent, sent about another enterpryse. Such a negligence was then in them that did write the antiquities of things, or els as much credulity, which is a fault no lesse than the other. When Alexander was brought into his lodging, the Surgeons cut off the scale of the shaft in such sort, that they moued not the head that was within the flesh, and when they saw the wound bare, they perceined hooks to be within the arrow head, so that without the destruction of his body it could not be pulled out, except by incision they made the wound greater: & yet in that point they feared least abundance of bloud should bee an impediment vnto them. For the head was very great, and it seemed to bee entered farre within his bovie. There was

was one Critobolus, that was very cunning and most excellent amongst the phisitions & Surgeons, and yet in so dangerous a matter as this, hee was fearefull and in doubt to sette to his handes, least if any thing shoulde chance to the king otherwise then wel, whiles hee remained in this cure, the blame might light vpon his head. Therefore when Alexander perceiued by his weeping the feare he was in, and that through trouble of minde he looked pale in the face, said vnto him.

What is it that thou lookest for, or why dost thou stay in ridding of me quickly out of this pain at the least wise by death, if thou canst not otherwise bring it to passe? For seeing my wound is vncurable, why dost thou feare that any thing shuld be layd vnto thy charge?

When Critobolus heard his words, hee either ceased or dissimuled his feare, & exhorted Alexander that he would suffer himself to bee holden whilest they pulled out the arrow head that was within his flesh: for the least motion (he said) might bee hurtfull vnto him. The king would not be holden, but helde his body at a stay without moouing, in such sort as they appointed him. When they had cut the wound wider, & pulled out the head, there issued such aboundance of bloud, & the king fel in a swoone, and a dim came ouer his sight, hee stretched out himselfe as one in the pangs

pangs of death. Then they wrought all the meanes they could to staunch the bloud: but when they perceiued it would not auaille, his friends began to cry out and lament, thinking verely that there had bene no way but death. Norwithstanding at length he ceased his bleeding, and recouering again his spirits, began to know them that stood about him. All that day and the night ensuing, the men of warre stood in armes about the kings lodging, confessing that all their liues depended vpon his breath, and would not remooue from thence, before they vnderstood that he took some rest. But when they knewe, that hee was fallen a sleepe, they returned into the camp, bringing vnto the rest more certaine hope of his recovery. Alexander about the curing of his wound, remained there seven dayes: and vnderstanding that a constant fame of his death was spread abroad amongst the Indians, he caused two ships to be fastned together, and a lodging to be made for him in the midst: So that remaining vpon the water, he might be seen from both sides of the land, of them that thought he had bene dead. When the country men by the view of him perceiued he was on liue, they tooke away the hope that some had conceined vpon the false report. From thence he passed down the stream, leauing a distance

betweene his ship, and the rest of the nauy, to the intent that with the beating of the oares, they should not disturbe him of his rest, which was necessary for his weak body. The fourth day after his imbarcking, he came into a cuntry abandoned of the inhabitants, but yet plentiful both of corne and cattel. in which place he thought expedient both to rest himself, and his souldiours. It was a custome amongst the Macedons, that when their king was diseased, the chiefe Princes, and the great menne watched about his lodging: Which manner being then obserued, they entered altogether into the chamber where Alexander lay: at whose sodaine comming he was somewhat amazed, specially because they came altogether. He thought they had brought him some strange tidings, and enquired of them if they vnderstood of any newe assembly of his enemies. Then Craterus <sup>p</sup> was appoynted to speake in the behalfe of them all, said to him after this maner.

Doe you thinke that the coming of any enemies could make vs so carefull (though they were entred within your campe) as we be of your health and safegard, for of al that it is a thing which you regard least? Though all nations conspire against vs with their power, though the whole world were filled full of men of warre, the Seas ouer-spread with shippes, and neuer so many straunge beastes brought

brought against vs, it consisteth in the moment of your person to make vs victors. But how can any God promise, that you which are the light and starre of Macedonia, can be of any continuance? seeing you bee so desirous to put your person in such manifest perils, not remembring that with your death you drawe with you into ruine, the lyues of so many of your cuntrymen? What is hee that eyther can, or dooth desire to liue after you? We are come so farre forth following your fortune and authoritie, that without you none of vs is able to return home againe. If ye were yet contending with Darius for the kingdome of Persia, though wee all would wish that you would not aduenture your person so perilously, yet in that case wee could not maruaile so much at your prompt audacitie: For where the daunger and the benefite that ensueth thereof is equall, there the fruit is the greater, when the matter succeedeth well: and the comfort is the more, when the thing changeth euill. There is no man, not onely of vs that be your souldiours, but euen of such as were your enemies, hauing any vnderstanding of your greatness, that can suffer so base a Towne, and of so little fame, be bought with the price of your lyfe. My heart shrikes at the remembrance of the thing, which wee but late did see with our eyes. I am amazed to rehearse howe those vile handes were in a readines to haue caryed the spoyle of your inuincible person, if Fortune of her mercy had not preserved and deliuered you from their crueltie.

So many of vs as were not able to followe you, were all traytours and forsakers of our Prynce. And though it were a matter that lay not in our power, yet if it please you to note vs all with reproach,

proach, there is none that will refuse any punishment in the purgation of the matter. Notwithstanding wee would require you that you would spare vs for some other purpose. Wee will gladly go whither soeuer you will haue vs: wee require war be it neuer so obscure, and couet the battaile though our fighting shall want fame, so that you will reserve your selfe to those hazards, which be meet for the greatnesse of your estate. How soone doth glory vanish away and become of no prayse, amongst such enemies as bee of no reputation? And what thing is there more vnworthy then to consume the glory you haue gotten elsewhere, amongst them wheras your glory cannot appeare?

When Craterus had told his tale, Ptholome and the other spake to him in like effecte: and required him all at once with weeping eyes, that he would not from thenceforth bee any more so thirsty to win praise, but seeing he had got sufficient already, he should content himselfe therewithall and regard his health and safegard, whereupon they vniversall estate did depend. The King tooke so gratefully their louing affection, that he familiarly embraced every one of them, and after he had willed them to sit repeating more deeply their former communication, he sayde thus vnto them.

My faithfull louing friends and countrymen, I giue and render to you my hartly thanks, not onely for that yee preferre my safegard before your owne, but also for that since the beginning of the

warres ye haue not pretermitted any thing, wher in your loue & beneuolence might be shewed towards me: so that I must confesse that my life was neuer so deare as it is nowe, because I desire long to enioy you. You be desirous to offer your selues to death in my quarrell, because you iudge that I haue deserued that beneuolence at your hands. But your imagination and mine is not after one sort. Your peradventure doe couet continually to enioy me, and to take of me continuall fruit. And I measure not my selfe by the continuance of my time, but by the greatnes of my glory. I might haue bene content with the riches my father left me, and with rest of my body haue looked for with the bounde of Macedon, an age obscure & without any fame. And yet I cannot see that they that liue in slouth & idlenes, can assure themselves of their owne destiny. For euen such as esteeme felicitie in long life, bee oftentimes preuented with sodaine death. But I which number not my yeres, but my victories, haue liued long, if I will wey the gifts of fortune. For beginning mine Empire in Macedonia, I haue Greece in mine owne hands: I haue subdued Thrace & the Illirians: I reigned ouer the Tribals & the Medians, possessing all Asia that lyeth betwixt Hellespont and the red sea, and now am not farre from the end of the world, the which I determined to visit, and to make open to men a new nature, and a new worlde. I passed out of Asia into Europe in the moment of an houre, and being but xxviii. yeares olde, and hauing reigned but nine, am become victourer of both Regions. Doe you thinke it then meete that I should nowe cease from winning of that glorie, whereunto I haue onely addict my selfe? No, I will neuer cease: but wheresoeuer I shall haue occasi-

But there was some that perceined his policy: and suspicion was spred amongst the rest. So that the Greeks fell to armes of purpose to slay Bicon. But such as were chiefe, mitigated the wrath of the multitude, and contrary to his expectation was deliuered frō that present perill. Yet he could not be so contented, but within a while after conspired against thē that saued his life, whose falshood known, they tooke both him and Boxus, determining that Boxus should bee put vnto death out of hand, and that Bicon should end his lyfe by torments. As they were tormenting of him, the Greeke souldiours sodainly in a fury, for what cause it is vncertaine, ranne to armes, the noyse of whom being heard with them that had the charge of Bicon did let him at liberty, fearing that the rumoz had beene made for his deliuey. He as he was naked came running amongst the Greeks wheras they were assembled: whose miserable estate sodainly so chaunged theyr mindes, that they willed him immediatly to be set at liberty: by this means Bicon being twice deliuered from death, returned into his cuntry with the Greeks, leauing the colony whereunto he was appointed by Alexander. These things were done in the confines of Bactria and Scythia. In the meane season the king of the two nations

which

which we spake of before, sent an hundred embassadors vnto Alexander, which being men of personages, rid in wagons seemly apparelled, hauing garments of linnen cloth imbrodred with gold, and impaled with purple. They declared that the cause of their coming was to peeld themselves, their little, their cuntry, and theyr liberty (which they had kept inuiolatly by so many ages) to his will & appointment. Of which their submission the Gods (they saide) were authors, and not anie feare: for they were contented to peeld themselves before they had prooued theyr power with him. The king called a counsell, and receiued them vnder his protection, appointing to them to pay such tribute as they before did pay to the Arachosians. And besides to sende two thousand five hundred horsemen to serue him in his wars: all which thinges they performed obediently. This don he made a great feast, whereunto he invited those Embassadors and his Lords. He vsed therein sumptuous preparation, ordaining an hundred beds of gold to eate vpon: which being set a small distance one from another, were drawn about with curtaines garnished with gold and purple. In that feast there was shewed and sette forth all the great excelle and voluptuousnes which either by long custome was vsed a-

mongst

amongst the Persians, or by corruption of their old vsages taken vp amongst the Macedons: the vices of both those nations beeing there mingled and mixed together. Ther was at that feast one Dioxippus of Athens, a notable champion, by reason of his excellent force well knowne vnto the king, whom certaine enuious and malicious persons, betwixt earnest and pastime did reprove, that he was giuen for to fatten his body as an vnprofitable beast: And when that other went to the battaile, he would annoint his body with oyle, & prepare himselfe to eate. Amongst other that vsed words of despite against him, there was at the same feast one Horratas a Macedon, who in his dronkenness challenged Dioxippus, that if he were a man, he should fight the campe with him the next day vpon lyfe and death, whereas the king should iudge eyther him to bee rash, or the other too much a dastard. Dioxippus then laughing to skorne the pride and arrogancie of the souldiour, accepted his proffer. The next day they were more earnest to go vnto the combat than they were before in making of challenge: therfore when the king saw them so bent, & that they would not leaue their purpose, he consented to thei will. There were great numbers of men assembled at the combat, amongst whom there were

were many Grecians which fauoured Dioxippus part. The Macedon came into the lists armed at all peeces, holding in his left hande an Iron buckler and a spear, and in his right hand a casting launce, and hauing his sword besides gyfte to his side, was furnished as though hee should haue fought with manie men at once. Dioxippus came forth, annointed with oyle, with a garland vpon his head, and hauing a red cloth waist about his left arme, held in his right hand a great knotty cudgell. The diuersitie of thei furnishings brought euery man into a wonderfull expectation. For they could not think it onlie a rashnesse, but a madnesse for Dioxippus that was naked, to match with the other that was armed. The Macedon thinking to kill his aduersary before they should come to handy stripes, threwe at him his Launce, which Dioxippus auoyded by bending of his bodie, and before that hee could charge his pyke hee leaped to him, and with his cudgell brake the same asunder. When the Macedon had lost both his weapons, hee beganne to drawe his sword: but Dioxippus preuented him with a cloafe, and taking both his feet from vnder him, threw him vnto the earth, and there plucking his sword from him set his foote vpon his necke, and held

by his cudgel to haue striken out his blemishes  
if the king had not caused him to stay his hand.  
This triumph ended with displeasure both  
vnto the Macedons, and vnto Alexander  
himself: specially because this thing was don  
in the Indians presence: fearing least the va-  
liantnes of the Macedons, famed so much in  
the world, might therby come into contempt.  
Hereupon Alexander grudging at Diox-  
ippus, bare his eares open to the accusation  
of the enuious. They within a few dayes af-  
ter had caused a golden cup purposely to bee  
conueyed out of the way: which the ministers  
hauing imbezeld, made complaint vnto A-  
lexander of the losse therof. Oft times men  
shew lesse constancy in countenance, than in  
the offence it self. For in their complaint Di-  
oxippus perceived by their looks, that they  
noted him as the thiefe, which he could not  
indure, but parting out of the feast (after hee  
had written a letter to the king) he killed him-  
selfe. Alexander was very sorry for his death  
which he took for no token of repentance, but  
rather of indignation. For after wards it ap-  
peared through the ouer much retorting of  
his enemies, that he had bene falsely accused.  
The Embassadors of the Indians that were  
dismissed home, within a few dayes after re-  
turned againe, presenting vnto Alexander  
three

three hundred horses, a thousand and thirty  
waggons, euery one drawn with foure horses,  
certaine beure of linnen cloth, a thousand  
Indian targets, and one hundred talents of  
Iron, both Lyons of a rare bignesse, and Ti-  
gers that were made tame, the skins of great  
Lizards, and the shels of certain fishes. The  
king then commaunded Craterus to conduct  
his army along the Riuer: whereupon he say-  
led, and he imbar king such as were wont to  
accompany him, with the streame passed into  
the bounds of the Mallians, and from thence  
came vnto the Sabracans, which was a na-  
tion of great power, not ruled by kinges, but  
by a gouernement of the people. They had  
gathered together six thousand footmen, and  
six thousand horsemen, & five hundred armed  
waggons, and had chosen three Capitains that  
were approued men of war. But when such  
as inhabited next vnto the Riuer (the bankes  
being ful of villages) saw all the Riuer so far  
as they could view, ouerspread with ships, &  
the armor glistering of so many men of war,  
they were amazed with the strangenes of the  
sight, and thought that some army of Gods  
or else Bacchus (whose name was famous a-  
mongst those Nations) had beene come a-  
mongst them. The cry of the men of warre,  
with the clashing of the oares, and the strange  
noyse

returned againe to the Riuer wheras he had willed his Maie to carry for him. The fourth day after passing down the streame, he came to a Towne at the entry of the kingdome of *Samus*: the King wherof had newly peeldes himselfe, but the citizens had shut their gates and would not be at commaundement: whose small number Alexander regarded so little, that he sent five hundred Agrians vnto the gates to proffer the skirmish, to the intent by retiring little and litle, they might draw them out of their strength, thinking they would follow the chase, when they should see their enemies flying. The Agrians did as it was appointed them: for when they had once prouoked their enemies, they turned their backs, & the Indians pursued them, till they came to the ambushment where the king lay. Then the Agrians turned, and the fight was renewed againe, so that of three thousand Indians there were five hundred slaine, and a thousand taken, the rest recovered againe the Citie. But the end of the victorie was not so pleasant as it was in the beginning: for the Indians had so enuened their swordes, that such as were hurt, died of their wounds. And the physicians could not deuise the cause of so strange a death: for euen the very light hurtes were incurable. The Indians trusted that Alex-  
ander

ander through his rashnes might haue come within that danger, which by chance fighting amongst the thickest, escaped without hurt. Ptholomeus was lightly wounded vpon his lefte shoulder: who being in a greater danger, than the greatnes of his wound seemed, caused the king to be carefull of him. For he was neare of his kinne, & as some thought Philip was his father: but it is certaine that his mother was Philip his concubine. There was one of them that had the charge of the kings person, a valiant man of warre, and yet more famous in the faculties of peace. Hee was moderate both in his apparel and liuing: liberall, easie to be spoken to, and without any such height of mind, as is wont to be in men descended of bloud royal: by reason of which qualities, it is vncertaine whether he was better beloued with the king, or with the rest of men. That was the first occasion he had to knowe how the minds of men were affectionate towards him: for euen in that daunger the Macedons began to deuine of his fortune, wherunto afterwards he ascended. They had no lesse care of Ptholomeus, than of the king himself: who vsed him so familiarly, that when he was worried either with trauel or care of mind, would sit for his solace with Ptholomeus: & at that time caused his bed to be brought into his own  
L chamber

chamber. When Ptholomeus was laid ther he fel sodainly in a sound sleepe, in the which it seemed that a dragon offered to him an herb out of his mouth, for the healing of his wound, and taking away of the venime. When he awaked, hee declared his dreame, and shewed both the colour and fashion of the herbe, affirming that he could know it, if any man could find it out. That same was sought by so many, that at length it was found, and being put vpon the wound, the paine straight ways ceased, & the skar within short place was closed. When the Indians were disappointed of the hope they had conceived that way, they pelded themselves and their citie. From thence Alexander went into the nexte cuntry called Pathalia, the king whereof called Meris left the citie, and fled into the mountaines: so that Alexander tooke the same, & destroyed al the country, finding both a woonderfull pray of sheepe, of cattel, and of cozne. There he tooke Pilats that knew the Riuer, & came vnto an Island which stood in the midst of the stream, where he was compelled to remaine the longer, because the Pilates beeing negligently kept, were escaped away. He sent therfore to seeke out other, but when he could finde none, there entered a vehement desire into his head to visit without any guide the Ocean sea, and  
the

the ende of the world, committing his owne life, and the liues of so many thousandes, to a Riuer which none of them did know. They sayled as men ignoraunt of all places they came vnto: eyther how far the Sea was distant from them, what nations did inhabit the countreys thereabout, or whether the mouth of the Ryuer were nauigable for Gallies or no. In all these thinges they were lead by a blind and doubtful imagination, hauing no other comfort in their rash enterpryse, but one: ly that they trusted to their continuall felicitie. When they had gone forwards four hundred furlongs, the shipmaisters told the king that they felte the aire of the Sea: whereby they knew that the Ocean was at hand. Ther at he reioiced greatly, and exhorted the mariners, that they would in all that they might, make way with their oares to bring him to the sight of the ende of the world, which he had so long desired.

Now (quod hee) our glory is perisite, when our manhood is such that nothing can stay vs: Nowe the world is come into our hands without any further hazard of warre or shedding of bloud. Nowe since the bounds that nature hath wrought bee so neare at hand, we shall shortly see things vknowne sauing to the immortall Gods.

Yet notwithstanding hee sent certaine vpon land to take some of the cuntrymen, by whom

he trusted to haue knowne moze certaintie of the truth. When they searched out their cottages, at length they found out certaine that were hidden: which being demanded how far the Sea was from them, they made answere, that they neuer heard it named, but they saide that within thre dayes sayling they shoulde come vnto a place, whereas a brackish water did corrupt the fresh. By which words the mariners understood that they meant the sea, of the nature wherof the people were ignorant. Then the marriners rowed chearfully, their desire growing euer the greater, as they approached neare vnto the place which they hoped to be the end of their trauaile. The third day they came where the sea & the riuer ioyned together mixing with a small floud their waters that were of a contrary nature. Then because the tide was somewhat against them, they hailed towarde another Island standing in the midst of the riuer, which being an easie place to land at, the Macedons ran about to seeke victuals, insuretic (as they thought) being ignorant of the chaunce that came vpon them. The thirde hower according to the ordinary course, the tide came from the sea, and with his force did driue the streame backward, which at the first being but stayed, was afterwards so vehemently repulsed, that it cau-

caused the water to returne backward with greater fury than a swifte streame is wont to run. The common sort that knew not the nature of the Ocean, thought the same to bee a wonderfull matter, and that it had beene a token sent to them for the Gods wrath: & why- lest they were in that imagination, the Sea swelling moze and moze, overflowed the land which they saue before drie: and as the water rose, the shippes mounted, and all the navy was disperckled heere and there. Such as were vpon land were amazed with the sudden- nes of the thing, & ran from all partes in great feare vnto theyr ships. But in a tumult haste both hurt, & giue impediment. Some there were that went about to see theyr ships for- wards: other forbad rowing & remooued not at al. Otherwhiles they made hast away, and would not tary to take in theyr company, mo- ued vnaptly, & could make no way. Some, when they saw them presse a shipbord in such throngs, for feare of taking in too many, would receiue none at all: so that both multitude & small number was a lette vnto the hast they made. The cry that some made in bidding mer- cary, and the noise that other made willing them to go for wards, with theyr voyces that differed, and agreed not in one effect, tooke a- way the vse of both theyr sight and hearing.

The marriners could not helpe the matter, whose words in y<sup>e</sup> tumult could not be heard, nor theyr commandements obserued among men feare and out of order. The shipps therefore dashed one against an other, the eares crashed asunder, and euery ship either thrust forwards, or put backe another. No man would haue iudged it to bee one Maay, but rather two sundry fighting a battaile together vpon the Sea. The prores did strike against the pappes: such as went before troubled them that came after, and the words of men in their wrath came vnto stripes. By that time the floud had ouerflowne all the plaines thereabouts, so that nothing appeared aboue y<sup>e</sup> water sauing the hilles, which seemed little Ilands, whereunto many did swim, & lest theyr shippes for feare. Whylest the Maay thus disperckled abroad, partly stood a floate, when they happened in any valley, and partly sticke vpon the ground, if they did vpon the flattes, according to the ground which was ouerflowne: sodainly there came another terror greater than the first. For when the Sea began to ebbe, the water fell backe againe into his wonted course, with so great violence, as it came forwards and restored the sight of the lande, which before was drowned as in a deepe Sea. The shippes then forsaken of the water

ter fell vpon theyr sides, and the fieldes were strowen with broken boords, and with peeces of Dares. The souldiours durst not go forth to land, and yet were in doubt to carry a shippe-board, looking euer for some greater mischiefe to come, then that they sawe present or past. They could scarcely beleue that they sawe and suffered, which was shipwracke vpon the land, and the sea within a riuer. And thought no end could come of this mischiefe: for they knew not that the floud should shortly returne agayne, and set theyr ships afloat. And therefore they imagined to themselves famine and all extremities. The monsters also of the Sea, which after the water was past, were left on drie land, put them in great fear. The night approached, and despayre brought the king into a great agony. Yet no care could so ouercome his heart that was inuincible, but that hee watched all night, and sent horsemen to the mouth of the Rpuer, to bring him word when the tyde came. He caused two shippes that were broken to bee amended, and suche as were ouerwhelmed, to bee hoysed vp agayne, warning all men to be in wayte and bee in readinesse agaynst the water should arise. When hee had consumed all that night in watching, and giuing exhortation vnto his menne, straightwayes the horsemen retour-

ned a mayne gallop, and the floud followed them: which mildly increasing, began to raise againe theyr ships, and when it had once ouerflowne the banks, the whole nauy beganne to moue. Then all the coast rebounded with the vnrmeasurable reioicing that the Souldiours and mariners made for theyr safegard, whereof they were before in despayre. When they saw the danger past, they enquired with wonder one of another, by what reason the Sea could so soone after that manner ebbe & flow, and debated the nature of that element, which one while disagreed, and another while was obedient and subiect to the tyne. The King conjecturing by the signs he had seene before, that after the Sunne rising the tyde would serue his purpose to preuent the matter, at midnight with a few shippes he fleted down the streame, and passing out at the mouth of the Ryuer, entered foure hundred furlonges into the Sea, where attapning the thing that hee despyed, made sacrifice to the Goddesses of the Sea, which were worshipped in those countreyes, and returned againe vnto his nauie. From thence the next day hee returned backwardes against the streame, and arrived at a salt lake, the nature whereof being vnknewne, receyued many that rashly entered into the water: for theyr bodies by and by

by became full of scabs, which disease taken by some, the contagion thereof infected many other. But they found that oyle was a remedie for the same. Alexander lying still with his armie, waiting for the spring time of the yeare, sent Leonatus before by the land way where he thought to passe, for to dig wels, because the country was very drye and destitute of water. In the meane season he builded many cities, and commanded Nearchus and Onisicritus (that were most expert of naual things) with his strongest ships to passe into into the Ocean, and to go so far forwarde as they might with suretie, for to vnderstand the nature of the Sea: and willed them at theyr returne to land eyther within that Riuer, or els within Euphrates. When the winter was well passed, he burned those ships which hee occupied not, and conueyed his army by land. After ix. encampings, he came into the countrey of the Arabitans, & from thence in nine dayes came amongst the Gedrosians: which being a free nation, by a general counsaile had amongst them, yelded themselves: of whome there was not any thing demaunded, sauing onely victuals. The v. day he came into a riuer which the country men call Barabon, beyond the which there lay a barraine countrey greatly destitute of water, through the which he

he passed, and entred amongst the Horitans. There he betooke the greater part of his army to Ephestion, and parted his souldiours that were lyght armed with Ptholomeus and Leonatus, & so wasted the cōtry with 3 armies at once, & took great praies. Ptholomeus burned towardes the Sea, Leonatus on the other hand, and Alexander himself in the middell. In that countrey he builded also a citie, and brought men out of Arrachosia to inhabite it. From thence he came amongst the Indians, which lying vpon the Sea coast do inhabite a great countrey, that is waste & desert. They vse no traffike, entercourse, nor conuersation with any of theyr neighbours: but the desertnesse of their countrey made them sauage, being wylde of theyr owne nature. They ware long nayles, which they neuer cut, and long haire, that was neuer clypped. They made their houses of the shelles of Fishes, and of other things that the sea cast vp: and being clad with the skins of wylde beasts, eate fish dyed with the sunne, and fed vppon such monstrous Fishes as the Sea cast vpon the land. Here the Macedons consumed their victuals, and first endured scarcitie, and afterwarde extreame hunger, searching out in euery place the rootes of the Palmes which is the only tree that groweth

of Quintus Curtius. 179  
in that countrey. But when that kind of nourishment fayled them, they killed their carriage beasts, and abstained not from their horses: whereby lacking beasts to beare theyr baggage they were inforced to consume with fire the spoyles of their enemies, which had caused them to trauaile into the vtermost boundes of the Orient. After their famine followed a pestilence; for the vncustomed nourishment of the vnwhollome meates they did eat, with the trauaile of their iourney, and the care of munde spread diseases amongst them, in such sorte that they could neither continue in a place, nor yet go forward without great destruction. Hunger oppressed them when they tarped: and the pestilence was more vehement euer as they went forwards. The fieldes therefore were strewe full of men that were halfe dead, and half aliue. And such as were but smally sick, were not able to follow the armie: it marched with such speede: For euery man thought to further so much his owne safeguarde, as by making hast hee could get before his fellows. Such as fainted and could not followe, desired both such as they knew and knewe not, to helpe them forwards. But they had no beasts wherevpon to set them: and the souldiours could scarcely beare theyr owne armoure, which

had the imminent mischiefe that fell vpon other men, represented before theyr own eyes. Wherefore, when they were called vpon, they would not vouchsafe once to looke back: fear had so taken away all compassion from the. Then they which were left behinde, cryed vpon the gods and theyr king for helpe, alledging that they were all of one religion, which was a band for one to releiue another. But when they had cryed long in vaine vnto their deafe eares, through desperation they raged, wishing the like ende to their friends & companions, that they themselves endured. The king troubled both with sorowe and with shame, because he, and none els should be the cause of so great destruction of his men, did write to Prataphernes ruler of the Parthenians, to send to him vpon Camels, victuals in readinesse to be eaten, & certified the princes of the countries thereabout of his necessity, which did not slacke the time, but made prouision according to his will. Thus his army deliuered only frō famine, was brought within the bounds of the Gedrosians: and forasmuch as the same was a countrey fertill of all things, he thought good to stay ther awhile with the rest to recouer againe his feeble soldiers. There he receiued letters from Leonatus, how hee had woon the victorie of the

Hori-

Horitans, which encountred him with six thousand footmen, & v. hundred horsemen: and was auertised also from Craterus, how he had taken and put in hold Ozines & Zariaspes noble men of Perse, that went about to rebell. Alexander also vnderstanding that Memnon was dead, gaue the charge of the country, wherof he had the rule, vnto Siburtius, and afterwards went into Carmania. Aspastes was gouernor of that nation: who being suspected of innouation, whiles Alexander was in India, met him on his way: but he dissimuling his pye, entertayned him gently, and did to him his accustomed honour, tyll such time as he had better proofe of the matter, which was layd against him. When the princes of India had, according to his appointment, sent out of all countries vnder his empire, great plenty of horse & other beasts, both of cariage and of draught, he gaue cariage againe to all men that wanted, and restored theyr armour to the former beutifulnes, and excellency. For they were come into a countrey ioyning vpon Perse, which both was aboundant of all things, and also quietly established vnder his subiectiō. He thought it then a time to counterfeite Bacchus in the glory and fame, which he got amongst those nations. Whether it were a triumph that

Bac-

## The tenth booke

Bacchus first instituted, or a pastime of him  
 bled in drunkenness. Alexander was deter-  
 mined to counterfeit his dooings, having his  
 minde puffed up above mans estate. He com-  
 manded therefore all the villages throughout  
 the which he should passe, to be strowne with  
 flowers and Garlands, and wine to bee set  
 forth before every mans doore, for all men  
 that would drinke. He caused wagons also to  
 be made of largeth, able to cary great num-  
 bers: & decking the same with precious fur-  
 niments, the king wente foremost with his  
 friends, and next to them his guard, wearing  
 upon their heads garlands of flowers, some  
 playing upon flutes, and some upon harpes:  
 Every one generally through the army deck-  
 ed his chariot, according to his abilitie and  
 substance, whereas they giuen to banquetting  
 did hange their rich armour besides them. A-  
 lexander with such as he called to his com-  
 pany, was carted in a chariot laden with cups  
 of gold, and other golden vessel: he with his  
 drunken army, marched thus vii. dayes toge-  
 ther in ostentation of the pray they had got-  
 ten: wherein they shewed such dissolutenes,  
 that if one M. of the subdued people durst,  
 during that time haue giuen them the onset,  
 they might haue taken them prisoners, and  
 led the away in triumph. But fortune which  
 hath

hath appointed both fame and estimation to  
 things, turned all this disorder vnto his glo-  
 rie. For both the age that was then, & the po-  
 sterity that came after, merueiled and toke it  
 for a wonder, that hee durst go so dissolutely  
 amongst those nations, not yet established vn-  
 der his Emperre, the barbarous people repu-  
 ting his rashenes, for an assured confidence.  
 But shedding of blood ensued after this tri-  
 umph. For prince Aspatis (spoken of before)  
 was commaunded to be put to death: so that  
 his excesse in voluptuousnes was no let vnto  
 his crueltie, nor cruelty impediment to his  
 voluptuousnesse.



¶ The tenth Booke of Quintus Curtius,  
 of the actes of Alexander the great,  
 King of Macedon.



Bout the same time,  
 Cleander, Siracles,  
 Agathon, and Hera-  
 con, which by the  
 Kinges appoyntement  
 had put Parmenio to  
 death, returned to him,  
 bring.

bringing with them v. M. footmen & a thousand horsemen. There were many accusers that followed them out of the province: whereof they had the gouernance: whose behaviour there was such, that the acceptable service they had don to Alexander in killing of Parmenio, could be no satisfaction for the multitude of the offences they had committed. They vsed such an vniuersall spoyle, not absteyning from the temples, nor from sacred things. The virgins also & great ladies of the countrey, whom they had rauished, complained of them: lamenting the shame they had susteyned. They vsed such couetousnes and inordinate lust in their authoritie, that it caused the name of the Macedons to be hated amongst those nations. And yet amongst all the rest; Cleanders offence was most horrible, which rauishing a virgine of noble blood, gaue her to his slaue to vse as his concubine. The more part of Alexanders friends were not so much offended with their cruelty and foule acts (whereof they were accused) as with the remembraunce of Parmenio hys death, which they kept in silence, least they hear sail ther of might haue procured them fauour with the king: reioysing that the kings wrath was fallen vpon the ministers of hys pre, and that no power nor authoritie gotten by

by euill meanes, could haue any long continuance. Alexander hearing the cause, sayd that the accusers ouerslipt the greatest offence, which was the dispaire of his sauegarde. For if they had eyther hooped or beleueed that he should euer haue returned out of India, they durst neuer (he said) haue committed any such offences. He commaunded them therfore to prison, and vi. hundred soldiers to death, that had bin the ministers of their cruelty: & they also were executed the same day, which Craterus had brought as authors of the rebellion out of Persie. With in a while after Nearchus & Onesicritus, which had beene commanded by the king to search the Ocean sea, returning vnto him, declaring some things by knowledge, & some by report: they shewed him of an Island not far from the mouth of Indus, which abounded with golde, and had no breed of horses amongst them: wherefore the inhabitants would giue a talent of gold for euery horse brought fro the maine land. They also tolde of great monstrous fishes (whereof those seas were full) which carried down with the tide, would shew their bodies aboue y<sup>e</sup> water, as big as a great ship, & follow their naup with a terrible noise. And when they diued vnderneath the water, they troubled the seas, as it had bin a ship.

wracke. These were things they had seen: the rest they had received, by report of thinhabitours: as howe that the rede sea tooke his name of king Erithus, and not of the colour of the water. They shewed also of another Island not far from the main lande growinge full of palm trees, where was a great wood, and in the midst thereof stood a pillar where as king Erithus was buried with inscription of such letters as he used in the countrey.

They added besides, that such mariners as carried the merchautes, and the drudges of tharmye, through couctousnes of the golde whiche had beene reported vnto them, landed the Islande, and were neuer sene after. Their words moued Alexander much and put him in a great desire, too get more certaine knowledge of those parties and therefore he commaunded them againste to the Sea, willing that they should coast the land, til they came within the riuer of Euphrates & from thence to come vnto Babilon against the streame. The things were infinite that he compassed in his head, for hee determined after hee had brought the sea coast of the Orient vnder his subiecttion, to go out of Siria into Aphricke, for the enuy he bare to the Carthagens: he purposed fro thence to passe ouer the deserts of Numidia towards Gades, where he vnder-

derstood by the same, that Hercules had planted his pillars: and so directing his iourney through Spaine (the which the Greekes of the Riuer Iberus call Iberia) to go ouer y<sup>e</sup> Alpes, & so into Italy, till he should come to the coast where the next passage was vnto Epprus. For this intent he gaue commandement to his officers in Mesopotamia, y<sup>e</sup> they should cut downe timber in y<sup>e</sup> mount Libanus, & reuey y<sup>e</sup> same to Caplagas a city in Siria. And there to make galleis of such greatnes, y<sup>e</sup> euery one of them might be able to carry vii. oares vpon a bank, & from thence he willed them to be conueyed vnto Babilō. He sent commandement to the kings of Cypres, to furnish them of Iron, hemp, & sailes. Whiles these things were in doing, he received letters fro Porus & Taxiles, signifieng y<sup>e</sup> Abiazares was dead of a disea se, and that Philip his lieutenant in those parts was slaine, & they put to death y<sup>e</sup> were the doers thereof, Alex. in the place of Philip appointed Eudemon y<sup>e</sup> was captaine of the Thracians, and gaue Abiazares kingdom to his son. Fro thence he came to Pargades a countrey of the Persians, wherof Orsines was Lord: which in nobility & riches exceeded al other men in those parts, as one that fetch his pedigree fro Cyrus, y<sup>e</sup> once was k. of Perse. The riches his predecessours left him

was great: and hee by a long continuance in his inheritance and authoritie, had much increased the same. He met Alexander coming thitherwards, and presented both him and his friends with gifts of sundry sortes, which were a multitude of horses, ready to be ridden upon, chariots wrought with gold and silver, precious stuffe, excellent pearles and precious stones, weighty vessels of gold, robes of purple, and iii. talents of coined silver: but that his liberalitie was occasion of his death. For when he had presented all the kings friends with gifts about their desire, he honoured not with any gifts at all Bagoas the Eunuch, whome Alexander specially fauored for the vantage he had of him. There were therefore that gaue him admonition how much Alexander esteemed Bagoas, but he answered them:

That his custome was to honor the kings friends and no harlots: nor that it was not the Persians manner to haue any in estimation, which did effeminate themselves with so shameful an abuse.

When his words were reported to the Eunuche, he vfed the power which he had gotten with dishonest means, to the destruction of noble & innocent men: for he did subornate certain lewd persons of Orsines country, to bring in false accusations against him, which he willed them to present at such time as he should appoint

appoint vnto them. In the mean season when soeuer Bagoas got the King alone, he would fill his credulous ears with tales against Orsines, euer dissembling his cause of his displeasure, least thereby hee might lose the credit of his false report. The king had not Orsines yet in suspect of such matter as afterwarbes was laid against him; but he began to growe with him out of estimation. His accusation was euer so secret, that he could neuer get knowledge of the peril that was priuily wrought against him. That importunate harlot, in his vile conversation had with the king, was mindfull euer of the malice he bare to Orsines, whome he would not cease to bring in suspicion of couetousnes, or of rebellion, so oft as he saw Alexander, but to vse him familiarly. By that time the false accusations were in readines, which he had prepared to the destruction of the innocent: whose fatall destiny that did approach could not be auoided. It chanced that Alexander caused the tombe wherein Cyrus body was buried, to be opened, pretending to vse certain ceremonies for the dead: but thinking in very deed that his tombe had bin full of gold & silver, whereof there was a constant fame amongst the Persians. But when it was viewed there was nothing found, but a rotten target, two Scythian bowes, & a sword. Alexander

caused the coffin wherein Cirus body was laid to be couered with the garment he accustomed to weare, and set therevpon a crowne of golde, marueiling þ there was no moze sumptuousnes vled in burial of such a king, endued with so great riches, lying there but after the common sort of men. When this thing was in doing, Bagoas stood next vnto Alexander, who beheld him in the face and sayd:

What marueile is it though the sepulchres of kings be empty, when Lords houses be not able to receyue the goulde they haue taken out from thence? For my part I neuer sawe this tombe before: but I haue heard Darius report, that there were three thousand talents buried with Cirus. Thereof (quod he) proceeded Orsines liberalitie in winning your fauour by the guift of the thing, which he knew he could not keepe.

When he had thus stirred vp Alexanders wrath against Orsines, he presented the, who hee had suborned to accuse him: by whose report, & by Bagoas surmised tales, Alex. was so incensed against Orsines, that he was put in prison, before he could suspect that hee was accused. The Eunuche was not contented with the destruction of this innocent man, but at his death laid violent hands vpon him: vnto whom Orsines sayd: I haue heard that women in times past haue reigned, and borne great rule in Asia: but it now a moze strange thing,

thing, that a gelding should haue the Empire in his hands. This was the ende of the most noble man amongst the Persians, who was not only an innocent in this matter, but such one as bare singular affection vnto Alexander, and had shewed great liberalitie to him and his. At the same time Phradates, which was suspected to haue gone about to make himselfe king, was put to death. Alexander began then to be much enclined to the shedding of bloud, and to be credulous in hearing of euill report: prosperity is of such a force to change a mans nature, wherein few men haue consideration of vertue. Thus he which a little before would not condemne Lincestes Alexander, when hee was accused by two witnesses: that suffred diuers of more meane estate to be acquitted, though it grieved his minde, because they seemed not guilty to other men: and he which bestowed kingdoms vpon his enemyes, whome he had subdued, was in the end so much altered from his former inclination, that against his owne appetite, at the wyl of an harlot, he would giue kingdoms to some, and take away the liues from other. About the same time hee receyued letters of things doone in Europe, whereby he understood that whiles he was in India, Zopirius his lieutenant in Thrace, made a iourney

against the Getes, where by stormes & tempests that sodainly rose vpon him, he was destroyed & all his army. When Seuthesodrias vnder stood the defeate of that armye, he procured the Thracians that were his country men to reuolt: so that all Thrace was in manner lost therby, and Greece stood in no great suerty. The writers of the actes of great Alexander, make mentiō in this place of Calanus an Indian, that was very famous in Philosophy, which by the perswasion of King Taxiles followed Alexander, & ended his life after a strang sort: whē he had liued thre score and xiii. yeres without any disease, at his cōming into Persia, he felt a paine in his belly, wherby coniecturing that the end of his life was come, least such a perpetuall felicitie as he had liued in, should be spotted with any long disease, or tormented with the multitude of medicines, which phisitions vse to minister required Alexander that he might cause a fire to be made, and to burne himselfe in the same. The king began to diswade him from his purpose thinking to haue brought him frō the dooing of so horrible an act: but when he perceiued with what stedfastnes & constancy he stood in his intent, & that ther was no way to keep him any longer in life: he suffered a fier to be made according to his will: wherinto

Cala-

Calanus did ride on horsebacke, making first his prayer to the Gods of his countrey: and taking the Macedons by the hands, required them that they would spend that day pleasantly in banqueting with their king, whom with in a while he should see at Babylon. When he had spoken those words, he went merely into the fire, whereas plying his body comly, kept still the same gesture and countenance at his death, which he was wont to vse. When the fire flamed & trumpets blew, the men of war making such a shout, as they accustomed going to the battaile, which rebounded vp to the skie, and the Elephants also made a terrible noise. These bee the thinges that sage writers doe testifie of Calanus: which was a notable example of an inuincible minde, constantly bent to suffer aduersitie. From thence Alexander went vnto Susa, wheras he took to wife and lawfully married Statira Darius eldest daughter: whose yonger sister called Dripetis, he gaue to wife vnto Ephestion: and bestowed to the number of fourscore Virgins of the noblest of all the Nations hee had conquered, to the principall Macedons & to the chiefe of his friends, because he would not seeme alone to begin so strange a custom. These marriages were celebrated after the Persian manner, and a princely feast prepared

ted at the espousals : whereat there were ix. M. guests, to every one of whom Alexandre gaue a drinking cup of gold. At the same time the rulers of the cities which Alexander had subdued and buylded, sent vnto him xxx. thousand yong souldiors that were all of one age, furnished with faire armour apt to do any enterpryse of the war, which he called *Epigony*: that is to say his successors. The Macedons at their comming seemed to be somewhat appalled, which wearied with lōg war, vsed often in assemblies to murmur & speake mutinous words against the king. For that cause hee had prepared these souldiors to restrain the arrogancy of other, & gaue to them great benefits. Harpalus, to whome the king had committed the charge of the treasure, & reuenues at Babylon, hearing of the actes that Alexander had doone in subduing the more part of the kings of India, & his success to be so prosperous, that nothing could withstand him: knowing the vnSATIABLE desire that was in Alexander to visit far countries, and to increase his glory, thought it shoulde bee a hard matter for him to returne to Babylon againe. Wherefore he gaue himselfe to delight and to lust, misusing many that were noble and free women, and wallowed in all kind of voluptuousnes: In so much that he sent vnto Athens

Athens for a famous harlotte called *Protonice*, to whom he bothe gaue many great & princely giftes whiles she was aliue, and also after her deathe spent xxx. talentes vpon her tombe. Hauinge in these and suche other like voluptuous vanities consumed a great part of the treasure, when he vnderstode Alexander to be come out of *India*, and to vse extreme iustice vpon his officers, that misused them, of whome they had rule (by reason he was priuy to his fowle conscience) he feared the like might come to him selfe. And therefore gatheringe together v. M. talentes. & vi. M. mercenary soldiers, tooke the waye towardes *Athens*, no man willing to receiue him by the waye. When he came to *Tenaron* (whereas a great numbꝛe of the mercenary Greekes, which had bene discharged out of *Asia* were assembled) he left his souldiors there, and went to Athens with his money: when he was came thether, great number of the citizens flocked about him, more for loue of his money, then for his owne sake: but specially *Dematours*, & such as vsed to mak ther game by oracions, & perswading of *Dematours* people: whom by smal rewardes he easely corrupted to defend his cause to the people. But afterwards at a generall assembly vpon the matter, he was commaunded to depart the citie, and

and so returned againe amongst the Greeke souldiours by whom he was slaine. Therefore with thirty ships they passed ouer to *Sunium*, which is a point of the land in the territory of Athens, from whence they determined to haue entred into Athens hauē. These things being thus known, Alexander that was sore moued as wel against the Athenians, as against Harpalus, prepared a navy to make war in person immediatly against them. And as he was busied about the matter, he vnderstood by secret letters, how both Harpalus had beene in Athens, and corrupted with money the chiefe of the citie: and also how that after wardes by a councell of the people, hee was commanded to depart from thence, who returning amongst the Greeke souldiours, was slaine by one of them by treason. These news greatly reioiced Alexander, where by he had occasion to leaue off his iourney into *Europe*: but he sent commandement to all the cities of Greece, that they should receiue all their banished men, except such onely as had committed any murther vppon their owne countrymen. Although the Greeks knew the same to be the breach of their liberties, and of theyr lawes, and the beginning of theyr bondage: yet as men y<sup>e</sup> durst not disobey his will, they called home their banished men, and restored

to

to them such of theyr goods as did remaine. Only the Athenians which euer defended obstinately the liberties of their commonwealth, and which had not beene accustomed to lyue vnder the obedience of any king, but vnder y<sup>e</sup> lawes and customes of their country, would not agree, that such dredge of men shoulde liue amongst them, but did driue them out of theyr bounds, ready to suffer any thing rather than to receiue such, as sometime were the rascall of all their citie, and then the refuse of all the outlawes. The time was come that Alexander minded to dismisse his olde souldiours and sent them into their cuntry: but he willed first 12000 footmen & 2000 horse to be chosen out to remaine still in Asia, which he iudged might be kept with a small army, because (he thought) the garisons he had planted in many places, and the cities which hee had newly builded and filled with inhabiteurs, should be able to stay such as would attempt any rebellion. But before he would make any diuision of such as shoulde depart and remain, he caused a proclamation to be made, that all souldiours shoulde declare their debts (where with hee perceiued many of them sore burdened) and though it did rife through theyr owne discord and excelle, yet he was determined to discharge euery man. But the souldiours thinking

that an whole army hath forsaken their king? The  
 slaues run not from their maisters all at once: but  
 there is alwayes a shame in some to leaue them,  
 whom the rest forsakes. But why doe I forget that  
 that you be mad in your minds? or why go I about  
 to cure you that be vncurable? I condemne from  
 henceforth all the good hope that euer I concei-  
 ued of you, and am determined to worke no more  
 with you, as with my souldiors (seeing you wil not  
 be mine) but with men vngratefull and vnmindful  
 of my goodnes. The cause of this your madnesse,  
 is euen the abundance of your prosperitie, wher-  
 by you forget your olde estate, from the which ye  
 be deliuered through my benefite. You are men  
 worthy to haue spent your liues in your former  
 beggery, seeing you can better beare aduersitie,  
 than prosperous fortune. Beholde, you which a  
 while agoe were tributaries to the Illyrians and  
 the Persians, doe nowe disdayne Asia, and the  
 spoyle of so many nations. You, which vnder Phi-  
 lip went halfe naked, now yee contemne robes of  
 purple. Your eyes cannot endure any longer to  
 behold the sight of gold and siluer. You desyre a-  
 gaine your wodden dishes, your targets made of  
 wickers, and your swords couered with rust: I re-  
 ceiued you in this simple estate, with fife hund-  
 red talents in debt, when all my furnimentes ex-  
 ceeded not in valure fortie talents. This was my  
 foundation of my actes, wherewith (without en-  
 uie be it spoken) I haue subdued the gretest part  
 of the worlde. Are you weary of Asia, which hath  
 ministred vnto you occasion of such glory, that  
 by the greatnes of your actes, ye be made equall  
 vnto the Gods? doe you all make such hast into  
 Europe, to forsake mee that am your king? The  
 more parte of you should haue lacked money to  
 bear

had not payed your debts. Are you not ashamed,  
 that haue robbed all Asia, to beare the spoyle of  
 so many nations within your bellies, and nowe to  
 returne home to your wiues and children, vnto  
 whom ther be but few of you that are able to shew  
 any rewardes of your victorie? For many of you  
 shalbe compelled to gage your armour, if yee for-  
 sake this good hope, ye might receue at my hand.  
 These be the good men of warre that I shall want,  
 which of all their riches haue nothing left them,  
 but onely their concubines. The way lyeth open  
 for your departure: get you hence quickly out of  
 my sight. I with the Persians shal defend your backs  
 when ye be gone. I will hold none of you: deliuer  
 mine eyes ye vngratefull countrymen, of the sight  
 I see of you. Shall your parents and children re-  
 ceiue you with ioy, when they shall see you return  
 without your king? Shall they couet to meet such  
 as be fugitiues, and forsakers of their prince? I  
 truly shal triumphe vpon your departure: & wher-  
 soeuer you shall be, I shall desire to be renenged,  
 honouring alwayes, and preferring before you,  
 those which ye haue left here with mee. Now you  
 shal know of what force an armie is that lacketh a  
 king, and what moment doth consist in me alone.

**When he had spoken those words, he leaped**  
**in a fury from the iudgement seat, and ran**  
**into the throng of the armed men: wheras he**  
**tonke with his owne hands such as had mu-**  
**tinied most against him. Of whom there being**  
**none that durst make resistance, he deliuered**  
**xiij. to his guard for to be safely kept. Who**  
**would thinke that an assembly which a litle**  
**before had spoken vnto their prince with such**

fiercenes and rigour, could haue bene so suddenly appaled for feare? Which seeing they companions lead to execution, durst not moue nor make attempt. But the more liberte they vsed before, their seruile violence, was then so staid, that neuer one of them durst resist the king running amongst them, but were all astonied for feare, and stood like men amazed with doubtfull imaginations, looking what hee would determine of the offenders. Whether it were the reuerence they bare to his name, because the nations that liue vnder Kings, are wont to honour them as Gods: or were it the maiestie of his person, or else his owne assured constancie, executing his authoritie with such violence, that put them in feare: they shewed a notable ensample of patience. For they remained not onely without stir or motion at the execution of their companions, whom they knew to be put to death in þe night time, but also wer more diligent in doing their duties than euer they were before. pretermitt-  
ting nothing pertaining to obedience, and naturall affection towards their prince. For the next day when they came to the court, & were not suffered to enter, but al shut out sauing the souldiours of Asia, they made a sorrowful cry & lamentation which spred ouer all the campe, protesting that they would not liue, if the king con-

continued stil in his wrath. But he that was obstinate in all things that he had once conceiued in his head, commanded al the Macedons to keepe still their campe, and assembled the souldiours strangers together, to whom by an interpreter he made this Oracion,

At such time as I came first out of Europe into Asia, my trust was to bring many noble Nations and great power of men, vnder myne Empire and dominion: wherein I was not deceyued. For besides that the fame reported you to be men of valure, I haue found in you one thing more: which is an incomparable obedience, fidelitie, and affection towards your prince. I thought voluptuousnes had ouerflowne all vertue amongst you, and that through your great felicity ye had bin drowned in pleasures. But I find it otherwise, and perceiue that none obserue the discipline and order of the wars, better than you doe, nor execute the same with more actiuitie nor stoutnes: and being manfull and valiant men, yee imbrace fidelitie no lesse than you do the rest. This thiug I do but now acknowledge, but I knew it long agoe: which was the cause that I chose you out of the youth of your Nations, to bee my souldiours, and did incorporate you amongst mine owne people, cansing you to weare the same habite, and the same armour: But your obedience and patience towards the authority, appearerh much better in you then in them. Therefore I haue ioyned to my self in marriage, the daughrer of Oxatres that is a Persian: not disdainig to beget children vpon a captiue. And afterwarde deliring more abundantly to increase the issue of my body, I tooke to wife the daughter of Darius, and was the author that my

## The tenth booke.

neare friends likew se should beget children vpon captiues: minding by this holy couenant to exclude the difference betweene the victors and the vanquished. Wherefore you must now thinke that you be not souldiours vnto me adopted, but more naturall: & that Asia & Europe is one kingdom without any difference. I haue giuen to you armour after the maner of the Macedons. I haue brought all strangenes & nouelty into a custome: and now ye be both my countrey men and my souldiours, all things receiuing one forme and fashion. I haue not thought it vnseemly for the Persians, to shadowe the customes of the Macedons, nor for the Macedons to counterfaite the Persians: seeing they ought to be vnder one lawe and custome, that should liue vnder one king.

When hee had made this oration, he committed the custodie of his person vnto the Persians: he made them of his guard and his officers of iustice. By whom when the Macedons, which had giuen occasion of this sedition were led bound vnto execution, one of them that was more auncient and of greater estimation then the rest, spake after this maner.

Howe long will you thus giue place vnto your will, in executiing vs after the strangers manner? Your souldiours and countrey men be drawne to execution by theyr owne prisoners, before theyr causes is heard. If you haue iudged vs worthy of death, at least waye change the ministers of your wrath.

**This was a good admonishment if he had bene**

of Quintus Curtius.

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rene patient to heare the truth; But his wrath was growne into a woodnes: so that when he saw them which had the charge of the prisoners stay a little at the matter, he caused the prisoners to bee tumbled into the riuer, & there drowned. Notwithstanding the cruelty of this punishment, the souldiers were not stirred to any sedition, but repaired by rowes vnto their captaines, and vnto such as were neere about the king: requiring that if there yet remained any infected with the same offence, that he should command them to be put to death, proffering their bodies to be punished and executed at his owne will: After it was knowne that the lieutenant his shippes were giuen vnto the Persians, and that they were distributed into diuers orders with such names giuen vnto them as were vnto the Macedons, and that they were reiectted with reproch, they could not then any longer contente themselves, nor suffer the dolour they had conceyued in theyr hearts, but with a great throng pressed to the court, wearing only theyr nethermost garments, and leauing theyr weapons without the gate in token of repentance: There with weeping, and all tokens of humilitie, they made request to be admitted to the kings presence, & that he would be suchsafe to paroon their offence: pacifying his

¶ n 3

The tenth booke

his wrathe with the death of so many as hee should think good, rather then to suffer them to liue in such reproch: which except he would releas, they protested they would neuer depart out of the place. When those things were declared vnto Alexander, hee caused his court gates to be opened, and came forth amongst them: wheras beholding their lamentation & repentance, their miserable behauiour and affliction, hee could not abstaine to weepe long time with them: & in consideration of their miserie, forgave them their former offences: & after he had temperatly told them their faults & again comforted them with gentle words, he discharged many from the seruice of the wars, and sent them home liberally rewarded writing to Antipater his Lieutenant in Macedonia, that hee should assigne them the chiefe places in the theaters, & triumphs, and open places, wheras they should sit with garlandes on their heads: willing that their children after their deaths, should enjoy their fathers wages. He appointed Craterus for their ruler, to whom in the place of Antipater he had committed the gouernment of Macedonia, Thessaly & Thrace: sending for Antipater to repair vnto him with a supply of yong souldiours. Alexander had receiued letters before both from him, & Olympias his mother: wherby dissention

ion appered to be betwixt them. For his mother accused Antipater, that he went about to make himselfe king. And Antipater did write how Olympias did many things other wise than did become her. Antipater did take his calling away so greenuously in his heart, that he conspired therupon to poison Alexander: who hauing accomplished the matters before he mentioned, went to *Echatan* (being in *Meia*) to set order in the necessary affairs of his Empire, and there ordained solemn triumphes and feasting. It chanced Ephestion whome the king specially loued, and vsed in place of a brother, to die the same time of a fever: Whose death Alexander tooke more sorrowfully, than may well be credited, committing in his dolor many thinges that were vnseeming for the maiesty of a Prince. Hee commanded Ephestions Position to be hanged, as though he had dyed through his negligence. Hee lay imbracing of the dead body, and could hardly be taken away by his friends but continued his sorrow night and day.

There be many other thinges written in that behalfe, which be scarcely credible. But it is certayne that hee commanded sacrifice to be made vnto him as vnto a God, and consumed in his buryall and in making of his tombe, aboue twelue thousand talentes. As he

he was returning to Babilon, the Caldean Prophets met him on the way, exhorting him that he should not enter into the Cittie, for that it was signified, that if he went thither at that time, he should be in great perryll of his life. Notwithstanding he regarded not theyr admonishments, but went forwards in hys iourney, according as he appoynted. For he vnderstood that Embassadors were come thether from all regions, tarying for his coming. The terrour of his name was so spred through the world, that all nations shewed an obsequiousnes towards him, as though he had bin appointed to be their king. That caused him to make haste to Babilon, to keepe there as it were a parliament of the whole world. When he was come thither, he receyued the Embassadors gently, and afterwards dispatched them home againe. There was about the same time a banquet prepared at one Theſalus Medius house, wherunto the king being bidden, came thither with such as were appointed to keepe him company: But he had not so soone drunk of Hercules cup, but that he gaue a grunt as though he had bin stricken to the heart. And being caried out of the feast halfe dead, was so tormented with paine, that he required a sword to haue killed himselfe. His friends did publish abroade, Monkenues

to

to be the cause of his disease: but in very deed it was prepered treason, the infamy wherof, the power of his successors did oppresse. The poison prepared long before, was deliuered by Antipater vnto Cassander his son, which with his brethren Phillip and Lolla, were wonte to serue the King at meate: hee was warned that hee should not commit the same payson to any person, except it were to Theſalus or to his brethren. Philip therefore and Lollas, which were wont to take the say of the kings cup, hauing the poison ready in cold water, myxed it with wine, after they had tasted it. When the fourth day was come, the souldiers partly for that they suspected hee had been dead, and partly because they could not endure to want long his sight, came sorrowfully vnto the court, desiring to see the King, which by his commaundement were admitted vnto his presence, by such as had the charge of his person. When they behelde him lying in that case, they made great sorow and lamentation: for he seemed not to them to be the same their King, whome they were wont to see, but rather a dead corps. If theyr grief were great the sorow of them that stood next to the bed appeared much more, whome when Alexander beheld lamenting after that sort, he sayde vnto them:

When

the battaile, whē he besieged or assaulted any citie, or when he would giue any commendation to the worthy in any assembly. Then the Macedons repented that euer they had denied him diuine honors: confessing themselves both wicked and vngratefull for depriuing him of any name, wherof he was worthy. And when they had continued long in the veneration & desire of him that was dead, then they began to pittie theyr owne case, which coming out of Macedon, were past the riuer of Euphrates, amongst the midst of their enemies, that vnwillingly receiued theyr newe gouernment. They saw themselves left destitute, and the Empire without any certaine heire: for want of whome, euery one would go about to draw the power of the state vnto his priuate behoofe. And then they began to conceiue and foresee in their mindes the ciuill warres that did ensue, and that they should be inforced to shed theyr bloud againe, not for the conquest of Asia, but for the title of some such one that would go about to make himselfe King: whereby their olde scarres should breake out againe into new woundes. And moreover that such as by reason of theyr age had beene discharged from the warres by their noble and righteous King, should now be inforced to spend theyr liues in the quarell of

of some such one as was but his Souldiour. Whiles they were in these imaginations, the night came on, and encreased their terrour. The men of warre watched in harneps, and the Babylonians looked ouer the walles, peeping out from the tops of their houses, to spy some certainty how the matter went. There was none that durst kindle any light: and because the vse of the eye did faile, they laid their eares to heare the rumours and wordes that were spoken: and many times they were afrayde, when no cause was: and when they met together in the narrow streetes or darke lanes, they would be amazed, and suspect eche other as enemies. The Persians after theyr accustomed manner, clipped theyr haire, and with their wiues and childezen lamented the death of Alexander in mourning garments with vnfayned affection: not as a conqueror, and one that lately had beene theyr enemye, but as their right wise and naturall King, For they being accustomed to liue vnder a King, could thinke no man more worthy then he to rule ouer them. This sorrow was not conteyned within the walles of the citie, but straightwayes spred ouer all the countrey thereabouts. And the same of so great a mischief flying throughout Asia, brought soone tidings thereof vnto Darius mother. She at  
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the first report tare a sunder the garment she ware, and put on moorning apparrell: shee pulled hir haire, and fell downe groueling vpon the earth. One of hir Neeces sat by hir moorning the death of Ephestion whom she had maried, and in an vniuersall heauinesse, bewayled the cause of hir priuate sorowe. But Syfigambis alone susteyned all theyr miseries, and bewayled both hir owne case and hir neeces: hir fresh sorow causing hir to call to mynde things past. A man would haue iudged by hir behauiour that Darius had bin newly slaine, and that she had celebrated the funerals of both hir Sonnes together. She dyd not onely lament the dead, but sorowed also for the liuing.

Who shall now (quod shee) take care of these young women? or who can be lyke vnto Alexander? now we be taken prisoners againe: now we be newly fallen from our dignitie and estate. After Darius death we founde one to defende vs. But now since Alexander is gone, who will haue respect of vs?

Among these things, she called to mynde, how Occhus the cruell king had slaine hir father, and foure score of hir brethren in one day, & that of vi. children bozne of her bodye, there was but one of them left aliue. She saw that fortune had aduanced Darius, and caused him to flourish for a time, to the intent hee might

might end his life by greater crueltie. Finallye she was so ouercome with sorowe, that she couered her head, turning her selfe from hir neece and nephew that sat at hir feet, and abstaining both from meate and from beholding of the light, ended hir lyfe the fift day after shee was determined to dye. This hir death was a great argument of the clemency Alexander had shewed towards hir, and of the iustice towards all the captiues: seeing that after Darius death shee could abyde to liue, but after Alexanders departure, shee was ashamed to continue any longer. Considering Alexander rightuously, we must impute all his vertues to his owne nature, and his vices eyther to his youth, or to the greatness of his fortune. There was in him an incredible force of courage, and an exceeding sufferance of trauaple. He was endued with manhood: exceeding not onely amongst kings, but also amongst such as had no other vertue nor qualite. He was of such liberality, that oftentimes hee gaue greater things, then the receiuers could haue wished for of God. The multitude of kingdomes that he gaue in gift, and restored to such from whom he had taken them by force, was a token of his clemencie towards them that he subdued. He shewed a perpetual contempt of death, & feare where-

whereof both amazed other men. And as there was in him a greater desire of glory & worldly praise then reason would beare, so was it tolerable in so yong a man enterprising so great and notable actes. The reuerence and affection he bare to wards his parents appeared in the purpose he had to consecrate his mother Olympias to immortalitie, and in that he so sore reuenged Philips death: howe gentle and familiar was he to wards his friends; and how beneuolent toward his souldiers: he had a wisdom equall to the greatnes of his heart and such a policy & forecast, as so yong yeares were scarcely able to receiue. A measure he had in immoderate pleasures, and lusted lesse then nature desired, vsing no pleasure, but that was lawfull: these were wonderful great giftes and vertues. But in that he compared himselfe to the goddess, coueting diuine honours, & beleued the Oracles that perswaded such things: that hee was offended with them that would not worship him, and giuen more vehemently to wrath then was expedient: that he altered his habite and apparell into the fashion of straungers, and counterfaieted the custome of them he had subdued, & despised before his victorie: these were bycses to be attributed to the greatnes of fortune. As the heate of youth stirred vnto anger, and to the

the desire of drinking: so age might haue mitigated again those faulcs. Notwithstanding it must needes be confessed, that though he preuayled much by his vertue, yet ought he to impute more vnto his fortune, which one-lye of all mortall men hee had in his owne power. Howe often did shee deliuer hym from the pointe of death? Howe often did shee defende him with perpetuall felcitye, when hee had rashlye brought himselfe in perill? And when shee pointed an ende to his glorie, shee euen then was content to finishe his lyfe: staying his fatall destinie, till he had subdued the Orient, visited the Ocean sea, and fulfilled all that mans mortality was able to performe. To this so great a king, and so noble a conquerour, a successour was looked for. But the matter was of ouer great importance for any one man to take vpon him: Alexanders name and renowne was so great amongst all nations: and they were counted most noble, that might be partakers (though it were neuer so little) of his prosperous fortune. But to retorne againe to Babilon, from whence the digression hath beene made: They which had the garde and custodie of Alexanders person, called into the Courte such as had beene his cheefe friends and Captaines of the men of warre: after whome there

## The tenth booke.

Therefore the Souldiers according to their custome clashed their speares against the targets, and continued making of a noise. And when he would not forsake his opinion but obstinately mainteined the same, the matter had almost bred a sedition, which thing perceived by Ptholemus, he spake after this manner.

Neyther the sonne of Roxane nor Barsines, is an illue meet to reigne ouer the Macedons: whose names we should bee ashamed to mention within Europe, their mothers being captiues. Haue wee subdued the Persians to that end, to become subject to such as be descended of them. That was the thing which Darius and Xerxes, being kings of Perse wrought for in vaine, with so many millions of men of warre, and with so many Nauyes. This therefore is mine opinion, that Alexanders Chayre of estate bee set in the myddest of his court, and that all such as were woont to bee of counsaile with him, shall assemble together, so often as any matter requireth to bee consulted vpon: And that the Capitaines and rulers of the armie shalbe obedient to that order, wheunto the greater number do assent.

There were some agreed with Ptholemeus: but fewe with Perdicas. Then Aristonius spake in this wise.

When Alexander was demaunded to whom he would leaue his kingdome, he willed the worthyest to bee chosen. Whome iudged hee worthyest but Perdicas, to whome hee delyuered his Ring. This was not done at such time as hee was alone: but when all his friends were present, he did cast his

his eyes amongst them, and at length chose out one, to whome hee delyuered it. For this cause I thinke it right, that the kingdome bee committed vnto Perdicas.

Many agreed to his opinion, so that the assemblie cryed to Perdicas, that hee should come forth amongst them, and take vp the kings signet. But he stayed betweene ambition and shamesfastnes, thinking the more modestie he vsed in getting the thing, which hee coueted, they would be so much the more earnest to proffer it him. When hee had stand a good while at a stay, doubting what to do, at length he drew back, and stood behynde them which sat next vnto him. When Meleager that was one of the Captaines saw the staye that Perdicas made, he tooke courage vpon his feeblenesse and sayde;

Neyther the goddes will permyt, nor men wyll suffer, that Alexanders estate, and the weyght of so great an Empire should rest vpon his shoulders: I wyll not rehearse howe there bee manye men more noble then hee is, and of greater worthinesse, without whose consent no such thing may be suffred to be done. There is no difference whether yee make Perdicas king, or the sonne of Roxane, whensoever hee shall be borne. Seeing Perdicas goeth aboute to make hymselfe King, vnder pretence to bee gouernour to the Infant: That is the cause whye no king can please him, but such as is not yet borne. And in such an haste

(for the malpce and enuy he bare vnto Perdiccas) tooke an occasion boldlye to bring him into the assemblye, whom the multitude saluted as king, and called him Philip. Thys was the voyce of the people: but the nobilitie was of another minde, of whome Pithon tooke vpon him to put Perdiccas deulse in execution, and appointed Perdiccas and Leonatus (descended of the bloud royall) to be gouernours of the sonne which should be borne of Roxane: adding mozeouer, that Crate-rus & Antipater should haue the rule within Europe: and vpon this they sware the soldiers to be obedient to Alexanders issue. Meleager then douting (not without cause) that some euyl might come to him, departed with such as were of his faction: but he returned immediatly againe, bringing Philip with him into the court, & cried out to þ multitude for the assisting of the commonwealth, in aiding of the new king, whom a litle before they had elected: & willed them to make an experient of his actiuitie, perswading that he was the meetest to rule ouer them being the issue of Phillip, that had both a king to his father, & a king to his brother. There is no profound sea so stormy nor tempestuous, þ raiseth vp so many surges and waues, as a multitude doth motions & alteratiōs, whē they haue got  
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the bridle of a new libertie, not likely long to continue. There wanted not some that gaue their consent to Perdiccas: but moze agreede to make Philip king. They could not neyther agree nor disagree to any thing long time together: one while repenting them of that they had determined, and straightways forthought them of that repentance. Yet finally, they wer inclined to prefer the kings bloud. Arideus was put in such fear with the authoritie of the nobilitie, that he departed out of the assembly, after whose departure, the fauour of the soldiers was rather silent, than decayed toward him: So that at length he was called again, and his brothers vesture regall, which lay in the chaire, put vpon him. And Melager put on his armour, following as a defence to the person of the new king. The soldiers of the foot-band clashed their speares to their targets, threatening to shedde theyr bloud, which would couet the kingdome that pertained not to them. They reioiced that the force of the empire should not be disperckled, but still continue in þ same family: the right of whose inheritance comming of the bloud royal, they shewed themselves ready to defend. For by reason they wer accustomed to haue the name of theyr king in such honour and veneration, they thought no man worthy for it, but such a  
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both of minde and countenance, that they returned backe againe as men amazed. Perdiccas willed such as were in his company to leape on horsebacke: and with a few of his friends repayzed vnto Leonatus, minding if any violence were moued against him to repulse it with a greater force. The next day the Macedons grudged, and thought it a matter unfitting, that Perdiccas should be brought in danger of death after such a sort: & therefore determined with force to reuenge the rashnes of Meleagers doings. But he vnderstanding of the mutinie that was amongst the souldiours, gaue place: and they repaired to the king, demanding of him if he had commanded Perdiccas to be taken. He confessed the thing: but it was done (he sayd) by Meleagers motion, which he declared to be no cause for them to make any stir, seeing that Perdiccas was aliue. The assembly heere vpon brake vp, and Meleager became greatly afraid, specially so astonied by the parting of the horsemen, that he wist not what to do: for he saw the mischief (which he a little before had wrought against his enemy) like to light vpon himselfe. And whiles he deuised this & that, three daies wer consumed & spent. The wonted forme and fashion of the court did remaine in the meane season. For the embassadozs of diuers nations

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made repaire vnto the king: the captaines of the army did assemble about him, & the guards waited in armour as they were accustomed. But the great sadnes that was there without any apparant cause, signified some extreame dispaire. There was such a suspicion amongst themselves, that men durst not company together, nor speake one to another, but stood imagining lecretly with themselves: & by comparing the time present with the time past, and the new king with the old, they began to desire him that was gone. The one enquired of another, where he was become, whose fortune and authoritie they had followed: Then they founde themselves abandoned amongst so many wild nations, which were desirous vpon any occasion that might fall, to be reuenged of the iniuries they had receiued. Whiles they were troubled in these imaginations, worde was brought that the horsemen (which were vnder Perdiccas) kept the fields about Babilon, and stayed all victuals, committing to the Cittie. Wherevpon first began a scarcitie, and afterwards a famyne. Therefore such as were within the Cittie, thought good, eyther to make a reconciliation with Perdiccas, or els to fight out the matter: It chaunced that such as dwelled abroad in the countrey, fearing the spoyle of the Villages, repat-

repayred into the cittie. And they within the cittie for lacke of victuals departed into the countrey: so that every one thought themselves surer any where, then in their owne habitations. Then the Macedons doubting some great inconuenience that might come of this feare, assembled together in the court, and shewed forth their opinions. It was agreed amongst them that embassadours should be sent to the horsemen for the successe of all strife and diuision, Pallas a Thessalian, Amintas a Megapolitan, and Perelaus were sent from the king: who declaring their commission, received answer, that the horsemen would not seuer their power, till the authors of the sedition were deliuered into their hands. When they were returned, & their answer knowne, the souldiers without any appointment, put on their armor, and made such a tumult, that the king was enforced to come forth of the court, and sayd vnto them:

If wee shalbe at strife amongst our selues, our enemies that be quiet, shall enioy the fruite of our contention. Remember that the quarrell is with your owne countrey men, with whom if ye rashlye breake the hope of reconcilment, ye shall be the beginners of a ciuill warre: Let vs prooue if the matter may be mitigated by an other Embassate. I am of oppinion, that forasmuch as Alexanders bodye remaineth yet vnburyed, they will gladlye  
come

come together, to perform the due vnto the dead. And for my parte, I had rather surrender yppe againe this dignity, then any bloud should be shed amongst my countrey men. For if no other hope of concorde doe remaine, I desire and praye you to make a better choyse.

And with that worde hee wept, and pulling the Diadem from his head, & holding the same forth with his hand, ready to haue deliuered it to any man that would haue claymed to be more worthy then he. The moderation that he vsed both in his words, and his behaviour, caused them all to conceiue a great good hope of his noble nature, which (till that time) was obscured with his brothers fame. They therefore requited and encouraged him to go forwards in the matter, as he had desired: whereupon he sent againe for embassadores the same men that went before: which had commission to require that Meleager might be the third ruler of the men of warre. That matter was not much sticke at: for Perdicas was desirous to remooue Meleager from the king, & thought that hee alone should not bee able to matche with Leonatus and him. Upon this Meleager marched out of the cittie with the footmen: and Perdicas met him in the fields, riding before the bandes of the Horsemen. There both battailes saluting one another, concorde, peace, and amitie, was confirmed betwixt

betwixt them for ever (as it was thought) But it was decreed by destiny that civil wars should rise amongst the Macedons for gouernment is vnpatient of partners: and the kingdom was coueted by many. Which as it first grewe in force, so afterwards it was dispersed againe. For when the body was burdned with mo heads then it could beare, the other members begane to fail. So the empire of the Macedons, which vnder one head might wel haue stood, when it was deuided in partes, fell to ruine. For that cause the people of Rome iustly must confesse them selues bounde vnto thir prince, for the felicity they haue found: Which as a starre in the night appeared vnto them, were nere lost: And as the sunne gaue light to the worlde beinge in darknes, when without such a head the members that were at variance must needs haue quailed: Howe many firebrands did he quenche? Howe many swordes ready drawen did he put vp againe: how great a tempest did he pacifie with the soa in calme of his presence? The empire now dooth waxe greene and flourishing: Let me desire without enuy, that his house may continue many ages and his posteritie remaine for euermore: but to retorne againe to the order of the historie, from whence I was brought thorough the contemplation of our vniuersall felicie: Per-

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dicas iudged the only hope of his owne safeguarde, to consist in the death of Meleager: thinking it necessary to preuent him being a man bothe variable, vnfaithfull, geuen to inuouation, and besides his mortal enimie. But with deepe dissimulation he kept his purpose secret, to thintent that with lesse difficultie, he might oppresse him vnbeuars. He did subornate therfore priuely certaine of the bands vnder his rule, to complain openly (as though it were without his knowledge) that Meleager should be made equall with him in authoritie: which wordes of the souldoyers, when they were reported vnto Meleager, became in a great rage, & declared their sayings to Perdicas. He seemed to wonder at the matter, blaming theire doing, as though he had beene sorre for the thinge: and finallye they agreede that the authors of suche seditious wordes should be taken. When Meleager perceiued Perdicas so conforable, hee embraced him, and gaue him thanks for his fidelitie and beneuolence. There by a consultation had betwixt them both, they deuised how to destroy such as wrought this deuision betwixt them. For by bringing of it to passe they agreed, the army should be purged according to their countrie custom. To the doing wherof, they seemed to haue a sufficient occasion, by reaso of the late

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discorde amongst them. The kings of Macedon in purifying of their soldiers, were wont to vse a kinde of ceremony, diuiding the bowels of a dog in two parts, and to cast the same in the bittermost bounds of the field, whereon they purposed to muster the armie. There the men of warre accustomed to stand armed: both the horsemen, the mercinarie souldiers, and the phalanx, euery one a part. The same day that this ceremonie was put in execution, the king stood in order of battaile with the horsemen and the Elephants against the footmen, of whom Meleager had the rule. When the troupes of horsemen began to moue, the footmen were stricken suddenly with feare: and by reason of the late discorde, conceived a suspicion that the horsemen meant them no good. Wherefore they stood a while in a doubt, whether they should retire into the cittie or no, by reason that the fields serued best for the horsemen. But least without cause they might condemn the fidelitie of theyr companions, stood still with a determinate minde to fight if any proffered them violence. When the battailes were almost met together, onely a small distance left betwixt them, (whereby the one part was deuised from the other) the king by the prouocation of Perdicas, with a bande of horsemen did ride along the footmen, requiring

ring the deliuerie of such to bee executed, as were the authours of the discorde: whome in very deed, though he ought to haue defended: yet if they refused their deliuerie, he threatned to bring against them, both the horsemen & the Elephants. The footmen were amazed with the suddennes of the mischiete, which they looked not for: and there was no more counsell nor courage in Meleager, then in the rest: but they all iudged it most expedient for them, rather to abide the aduenture of that request, then further to hazard fortune. When Perdicas saw them astonished and in feare, he seuered out to the number of three hundred of such as followed Meleager, when he brake out of the assemblee, that was first made after Alexanders death: which in the sight of all the armie were cast to the Elephants, and there trampled to death with theyr feet, of which matter Phillip was neither the authour, nor the forbiddere: but thought to claime that for his owne doing, which should appeare best in the end. This was a signification and a beginning vnto the Macedons of ciuil wars that ensued. Meleager vnderstanding ouer late the flight of that deuice, because there was no violence offered vnto his person, stood at the first quietly within the square: but shortly after, when he saw his enemies abusing to his destruction the

heate then Mesopotamia, for the sun there burneth so hoate, that it killeth the beasts that be without couert, and burneth vp all things as were with fire. And to the increase thereof, there be few springs of water, and the inhabitants vse such pollicie in hyding of those they haue, that strangers can haue no vse of them. This notwithstanding, when Alexanders friends had gotten leisure to take care of the dead corpes, & came to visit the same, they found it without infection, corruption, or change of colour: the same cheerfulness which consisteth of the spirit, not being yet departed out of his countenance. Then the Egyptians & the Caldees were commanded to dresse his body after theyr manner: who at the first (as thogh he had beene aliue) had a feare to put their hands to him. But afterwards making their prayers & it might be lawfull for mortall men to touche him, they purged his bodye, and filled it with sweet odours: and afterwards layd him vpon a hearse of gold, and set a Dyadem vpon his head. Many thought that he dyed of poyson, & that Iolla Antipaters sonne being one of his ministers, had giuen him the same. Alexander oftentimes would saye, that Antipater coveted the estate of a king, affecting more greatnes then pertained to a lieutenant, and that through glorie of the victory he had gotten

ten of the Lacedemonians, was become so proud, that he claymed all things committed vnto him as his owne. It is thought also that that Craterus was sent to kil him, with those old souldiers that were dimitted. It is certain that there is a poyson in Macedon founde in a water called Sustiges, of such force, that it consumeth Iron, and will not be conteyned in any thing sauing in the hooue of an horse or mule: which poyson was brought by Cassander, and deliuered to his brother Iolla, which presented it in the drinke & the king last drank. howsoeuer these things be reported, the power of them of whom the rumour went, shortly after oppressed the infamy. For Antipater became king both of Macedon & of Greece, and his children after him: which put to death all such as were any thing neere of kin vnto Alexander. Ptholomeus (which had the rule of Egypt) conueyed Alexanders body to Memphis, which within few yeares after was remooued to Alexandria, whereas all honour is giuen to the memory of him, and to his name.

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FINIS.